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Contents for February 1942

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS ..... *H. P. J.* 70

EDITORIAL COMMENT ..... *A. W.* 71

WANTED: MORE EQUITY IN TAX DIVISION ..... *Simeon E. Leland* 73

BRITISH CIVILIAN AGENCIES IN THE WAR ..... *Eric H. Biddle* 79

IMPACT OF NATIONAL DEFENSE ON FAMILY LIFE *Zilpha C. Franklin* 84

DEVELOPING RESPONSIBLE CITIZENS ..... *Alonzo G. Grace* 88

WRITING A NEW CONSTITUTION ..... *W. Brooke Graves* 92

CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW 100

ON THE LOCAL FRONT ..... *Zilpha C. Franklin* 101

THE RESEARCHER'S DIGEST: FEBRUARY 106

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR 109

NEWS IN REVIEW 112

Editors: *H. M. Olmsted,* City, State, Nation, 112; *Elwood N. Thompson,* Citizen Action, 117; *Wade S. Smith,* Taxation and Finance, 121; *Elwyn A. Mauck,* County and Township, 123, *George H. Hallett, Jr.,* Proportional Representation, 125

BOOKS IN REVIEW ..... *Elsie S. Parker* 130

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service,* the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

The League's Business

League Service Prepares Report

Now in print is *Civic Affairs, 1940-41,* eighteenth annual report of the City Manager of Berkeley, California. The League's newly established Municipal Reporting Consultant Service is responsible for preparation of the 40-page book which, picturing a typical Berkeley family on its cover, describes city government from the point of view of the average citizen.

The advisory committee of the Service has Richard Graves, executive secretary of the League of California Cities, as its chairman; other committee members are Harold J. Boyd, comptroller of the city and county of San Francisco; Walter W. Cooper, city manager of San Diego; Professor E. A. Cottrell, Stanford University; Samuel C. May, director of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley; A. I. Stewart, mayor of Pasadena; and Frank M. Stewart, director of the Bureau of Government Research, University of California at Los Angeles.

League Contributions Deductible for Tax Purposes

In response to recent inquiries, the League has informed members and contributors that subscriptions, memberships, and contributions to the National Municipal League are deductible for United States income tax purposes.

Change Made in "Model State Constitution"

The League's Committee on State Government has changed the wording of the second paragraph of Article XII, Section 1201, of the recently published revision of the *Model State Constitution,* concerning the election of delegates to a convention to amend or revise a constitution. The substitute wording has been printed on slips of gummed paper which may be pasted over the present wording. Copies of this will be sent on request to those who possess copies of the *Model State Constitution.*

League Visitors

Recent visitors to the League's office include Jose de Nazare Teixeira Dias, government administrator of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; D. D. Mich, managing editor of *Look Magazine;* Willard C. Mills, of the Office of Price Administration; Frederick W. Killian, executive director of the New Jersey Committee on Constitutional Convention; James Brunot, Secretary of the Committee on Community Organization, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services; and Ralph L. Custer, Garden City, Long Island, Property Owners Association.

HOWARD P. JONES, *Secretary*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Planning with Hope and Confidence

THE federal government is, of necessity, establishing a system of censorship to prevent revelation of military and other information of value to the enemy; but there seems no way to prevent harmful utterances such as one made recently by one of the prominent business advisory services. In a report which, commendably, urges business to do its own post-war planning, the following appeared:

"The let-down will be fantastic. No matter how many government plans are made to anticipate the catastrophe *they will fail of fulfillment* (italics ours). When this thing is over, and countless fine citizens are out of work and helpless, the real price of total war will be visited upon your children and their children and it won't be pretty. The government can't feed everyone forever."

At best, this is a philosophy of despair based more on conjecture than reality. At worst, it does not help to keep public morale at a high level. It is probably inaccurate and most certainly destructive at this stage of the game to predict the failure of government planning.

How does an "expert" go about determining that government post-war planning will fail with any greater accuracy than the crash of 1929 was predicted? When, in time of great crisis, has there ever before been a genuine program of calm, orderly planning? There certainly has been a notable lack of it; and the lessons taught by the last post-war period are still fresh, especially the lesson of what happens when there is no plan.

Are we in this country so lacking in imagination that we cannot develop a plan for the demobilization of armed forces and war industry in a manner which will cause the least dislocation of the economy and the population?

Can we not develop a reservoir of national, state, and local public works projects which are *needed* and which now are being postponed because of the shortage of labor and materials?

Cannot private industry, with the encouragement and coöperation of government, now formulate and test plans for the conversion of plants and man power to the task of making new and wanted products?

Can we not now plan public finance so that we will be ready to soften the consequences of this war and so that we might try, at least, to escape the disastrous cycle through which local finance went after the last war?

Can we not now do something to reorient our conception of international affairs so that we can lay a foundation for a long period of peace rather than for a period of preparation for new conflicts?

There is no government in the

United States—local, state, national—which does not suffer and has not suffered from a lack of orderly planning. The war effort itself is slowed and hampered by the same lack. From the beginnings of the republic to Pearl Harbor it has been the same story—lack of planning. There is no good reason to believe we cannot change the pattern, that we must perpetually be the pawns of fate. There are many reasons for confidence that, by correcting past errors, we can prevent a repetition of past catastrophes. This is the usual key to progress.

It would be foolhardy, of course, to claim we can foresee and plan in advance the solution of every problem the future will produce. Past experience will show clearly what some of the problems will be, however, and both failures and successes of the past can furnish sound guides.

But, whether the plans which government and business are now making will eventually succeed or fail, we should be "game" to try. This is no time to have or to express a lack of confidence in government, which, in the last analysis, is lack of confidence in ourselves.

Preserving the Treasure

On June 5, 1918, during the darkest days of the World War, the warning printed below was sounded at the annual meeting of the National Municipal League during the course of an address[1] by Leroy E. Snyder, then director of the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, now assistant to the president of the Gannett Newspapers. It is a helpful reminder now, as then, of the basic essentials we are fighting for.—EDITOR.

IT IS axiomatic that in war time no sacrifice of individual interest or of the normal social activities of a nation is too great, if that sacrifice is necessary to the winning of the war and is not destructive of the fundamental and essential interests of the state. The personal sacrifices that are being made by individuals in many countries now at war are of such a nature as could not have been anticipated in times of peace. It is perhaps conceivable that, in an overwhelming national emergency, demanding the sacrifice of every personal comfort and convenience to achieve victory, men might walk the streets naked and be unashamed.

These considerations must influence any decision reached in a discussion of wartime work of civic organizations, but they make necessary a fundamental examination of the kind and quality of service rendered by civic organizations to the state. We have had repeatedly quoted the words of President Wilson, "War must not destroy civic efficiency." If war did destroy civic efficiency it would be suicidal. A national life which is not wholesome, purposeful, and promising in future usefulness, is not worth any effort to save.

We know men who feel that almost any kind of civic work is more or less of a luxury, and therefore quite dispensable in war times. If we were

(Continued on Page 108)

[1]Full text of this address was published in the November 1918 issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

Wanted: More Equity in Tax Division

Development of an integrated tax system will require years of hard work; few steps have been taken even to formulate the principles on which action or planning can be based.

By SIMEON E. LELAND
University of Chicago

THE position of urban governments in our society is both unique and appalling. They house the bulk of the nation's population, they contain the preponderance of its wealth and income, they are the centers of culture and education, they carry on the bulk of our trade and commerce. Urban governments perform those functions, excluding defense, most vital to our daily lives. The urban functions of education, health, recreation, sanitation, and protection have been more important in the everyday life of the citizen than the highways, charitable and correctional activities of the state, or the protection of persons and property, the promotion of trade, commerce, or education by the national government. Moreover, the demands for service from municipalities have been more intensive, and likewise more extensive, than those faced by other units—all this, of course, in times of peace.

On the other side of the ledger, urban communities have had only slender resources with which to meet the growing demands of their citizens. During the last thirty years the fiscal position of American municipalities seems to have been growing steadily worse. Meanwhile, the number of those to be served has steadily increased; urban life has become more complex and the demands for public service more intense.

The situation in brief is this: More service has been continuously required in the face of relatively diminished revenue resources from which to meet the costs of government. In 1911, of $2,700,000,000 collected in taxes, 65 per cent was for urban and local purposes, 24 per cent for federal purposes, and 11 per cent for state functions. In 1920, of $8,800,000,000 collected in taxes, 27 per cent was for urban and local purposes, 65 per cent for federal uses, and 7 per cent for state functions. In 1930, of $10,292,000,000 collected in taxes, 47 per cent was for urban and local uses, 35 per cent for federal functions, and 25 per cent for state purposes. In 1940, of $13,000,000,000 collected in taxes, 37 per cent was for urban and local purposes, 38 per cent for federal uses, and 25 per cent for state functions.[1]

These data, taken before the defense program commenced, but definitely including the long-run effects of World War I, reveal the declining fiscal importance of urban and local governments measured by relative revenues. It is doubtful if they truly reflect changing needs.

[1]Data taken from *Tax Yields: 1940,* Tax Institute, Philadelphia, pp. 20-21.

During the period from 1911 to 1940 federal revenues increased from $644,000,000 to $4,800,000,000—an increase of 7½ times; state revenues rose from $300,000,000 to $3,250,000,000—over a tenfold increase; urban and local revenues, on the other hand, increased from $1,750,000,000 to $4,750,000,000—or only 170 per cent.[1]

If comparisons are made with respect to the depth of the late depression, it is discovered that state revenues increased 95 per cent between 1933 and 1940; federal tax collections rose 159 per cent in the same period; while urban and local revenues increased only a little more than 5 per cent. Whatever the period selected urban revenues seem to have slipped steadily behind those of other major units.

Relief Burden Shifted

It was during the late depression period that local governments assumed the first impact of relief burdens. They carried them as long as they were able, but in the face of diminishing resources finally had to appeal to state and national governments for aid. Confronted by increased demands for service, particularly for assistance to needy citizens, the resources of urban government failed to respond. Part of the difficulty is found in the character of taxable resources themselves.

The property tax is the dominant source of revenue for urban and local governments—the smaller the units, the more dependent they are upon this tax. In 1940 the property tax was still the most important single source of public revenues. It produced $4,700,000,000 or 36 per cent of total revenues of all governments. Ninety-nine per cent of the property taxes were collected by local governments, which units relied upon the property tax for 94 per cent of their aggregate revenues.[2]

The defects of this tax are well known. It operates inequitably between persons, territories, classes of property, and amounts of individual holdings. It is relatively inelastic, even though it has been the major flexible element in state-local taxation. Despite the fact that collections from the tax were impaired by the depression, many governments were forced to increase property tax levies. There was little else they could do since, in general, they could not get power from the states to develop their own revenue systems.[3] Nor can municipalities effectively administer sales, income, or excise taxes.

There is not much, therefore, which municipalities can do to help themselves financially if the taxes they employ must be equitable, or efficiently administered, or of a type not calculated adversely to affect trade, commerce, or the economic welfare of their inhabitants. If these standards are not insisted upon, municipalities could collect much larger revenues from various types of taxes, if only given the power to adopt them. However, the consequences of taxing on the Donnybrook Fair Principle—

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[2] *Tax Yields: 1940*, p. 27.

[3] Even the powers of New York City which were relatively free were recently curtailed under the new constitution adopted by New York State. See New York State Constitution, 1938, Article VIII.

seeing a head and hitting it—are not to be desired.

The way out, of course, is through intergovernmental transfers, such as grants-in-aid or shared revenues, perhaps supplemented by local surcharges. The adoption of this policy will require the development of closer fiscal relationships between federal, state, and local governments to the end that a coöperative plan, mutually conceived and administered, may result.

The financial situation of local governments would have been hopeless years ago had it not been for the evolution of grants and shared revenues, which appeared in the states long before the federal government commenced its grants-in-aid policies. By and large the states employed them in the equalization of resources, while federal policies contained a large element of stimulation. During the depression, however, grants for relief and recovery were based largely upon need and, in part, reflected fiscal conditions in various territories.

Grants-in-aid Increase

The amount of these intergovernmental transfers has steadily increased. State school and highway grants amounted to $46,000,000 in 1902; by 1932 they were $665,000,000.[4] About that time welfare grants became significant, rising from $10,000,000 in 1928 to $284,000,000 in 1938.[5] Shared taxes in the latter year amounted to $427,000,000, bringing the total of state transfers to local governments above $1,400,000,000.

Federal aid to states exclusive of funds allocated for recovery and relief amounted to $1,456,000,000 in 1940, a sum four times greater than in 1920. Grants to states under the Social Security Act amounted to $356,000,000 in 1940. Expenditures for public works, including many in the nature of grants, amounted to almost a billion dollars in the same year. Expenditures for relief and work relief accounted for almost two billion more.[6] Many of these expenditures and grants percolate through the fiscal mechanism to assist local agencies.

It is clear that intergovernmental fiscal transfers from central to subordinate governments are an established policy in America. The amount of grants and transfers has increased substantially over the years yet they have been made, in the main, for specific purposes such as education, highways, and relief—including social security and public works. From time to time the grants have shifted as needs have changed, with grants for relief purposes predominant in recent years.

A corollary is that there have been few transfers for general government or for general budgetary purposes. The states, moreover, have seemed to feel that their obligations to localities are met if the property tax is surrendered to them, and have made no attempt to develop municipal revenue systems commensurate with local needs.

[4]Bittermann, *Grants-in-aid*, p. 48.

[5]Merlin, *American Taxes Shared and Allocated—1938*, p. 12.

[6]Data in this paragraph taken from *Annual Report of Secretary of Treasury, 1940*, pp. 26, 28, 820.

It has been a matter of sheer coincidence when local governments have possessed adequate taxable resources. As a result some governments have been able to meet demands with ease; others have not been able to provide even a tolerable minimum of services. For the nation as a whole there is no minimum standard of local services, nor any general standard of financial aid.

Defense has now complicated the position of municipalities. The federal government is spending at the rate of one and a half billion dollars per month and will soon spend two billion per month. The national government alone will spend twice as much in a year as all governments collected in taxes in 1940. The war production program has already made scarce and more costly many materials needed by both governments and civilians. The requirements of the armed services and the opportunities for service at higher wages in war industries have caused men to leave the employment of state and local governments.

Municipal Resources Reduced

The weight of federal taxation has reduced the resources available for municipal taxation and has increased the pressure of taxpayers and their associations for economy and tax reductions in local government. Both the financial and production programs have led to the demand that local governments curtail public works and capital outlay expenditures, not only to avoid competition with war efforts so as to keep down the cost of construction materials, but also to build up a reserve of useful projects for construction in the post-war period.

The enormous financial requirements of the war have also led to demands for the curtailment of federal non-defense expenditures. This movement eventually may affect federal grants for highways, education, relief, or public works, and ultimately municipal provision for such services. On the other hand, suggestions to extend the scope of social security to municipal employees will cost cities real money.

Production for defense has increased the quantity of money going into the pockets of the people, while at the same time fewer civilian goods are available for purchase. The resultant upward trend in prices will mean higher costs to municipalities. Statistics indicate that prices have been steadily rising.

Many areas, too, have been peculiarly affected by defense activities within their borders. In municipalities where defense production has been greatly expanded, naval yards or military facilities constructed, numerous water and sewer systems have been found insufficient. Streets to handle increased traffic have been lacking, satisfactory housing has not been available, recreational facilities have been inadequate, even sanitary precautions have not existed. Many municipalities have not been able to provide these essentials to adequate defense because of the financial burdens they have already been carrying and because of the utter inadequacy of their own tax systems.

It was inevitable that the exigencies of defense should bring to the fore

the problems of intergovernmental fiscal relationships. As between the federal and local governments, who should bear the cost of defense facilities and outlays needed within municipalities? Were the local governments to make these expenditures as contributions to national defense? Or were national expenditures to provide local facilities vital to defense? Could arrangements be worked out for dividing costs among the governments involved? Whatever answer is appropriate can be made, but the fact should be recorded that there is no present machinery for frankly meeting these problems.

Property Tax Limited

Between the state and local units the problem is different. The localities are creatures of the state, subject on the whole to state control. The state, typically, has diversified and lucrative sources of revenue; it has retained the taxes most suited to central administration, and—surely it is hardly an accident—as such, the ones yielding greatest returns. As the state claimed these taxes it left the property tax to the local units in a rather uneven division. The state tax systems, moreover, are elastic—better able to meet rising costs of government, as in the case of state sales taxes. Urban tax systems, on the other hand, are not readily adapted to meet rapidly changing economic conditions or sudden increases in the cost of government; they are not, in short, geared to meet the requirements of defense.

With the property tax as a main support, municipalities can secure added funds only as valuations or rates—or both—increase. Frequently the tax rates are so limited that valuations must rise before added revenues can be secured. This takes time. How much effect will defense plants or military establishments have on property values? Do the undertakings hold promise of permanent gains for a period long enough to justify the capitalization of future expectations into enhanced property values? Or does the prospect of ghost towns after the emergency is over tend to keep valuations from rising? It should be recalled, too, that many of the undertakings are federally-owned and are, consequently, tax-exempt. Others may be slow in showing up on the tax duplicate, due to lags in construction, assessment, and collection.

The property tax, in addition, seldom reaches transitory activities. Transients swarm to particular cities, but before they acquire taxable property or affect the value of the property of others they are gone. Money is squandered by itinerants without contributing to the support of local government. Huge payrolls and intense economic activity take place in communities lacking the power to reach such taxpaying ability. The state, on the other hand, does have power to reach this transitory ability through its sales, franchise, corporation, or income taxes.

The increased activities for defense give rise to demands for increased municipal services. Since adequate taxes cannot be collected, pressures arise to borrow needed funds. Future as well as present difficulties are thus multiplied. Now

is the time, however, to decrease state and local debts, not to increase them. It is the time, too, for individuals to pay their own debts. All can use their credit to better advantage in the post-war period. If debts are contracted now, what resources will be available to discharge them if, with the end of the war, economic activity abates, incomes decrease, and populations move to other regions? How much of the wartime expansion is to be permanent? How many of the transients are to become citizens interested in the payment of local debts? It is more prudent to pay today than to borrow.

It is also important, however, not to allow municipal services to become impaired during the emergency; in fact, many of them must become more efficient. Inadequate water supply, improper sewerage, breakdowns in health or police service—to mention only a few instances—may immediately be reflected in decreased defense production. Likewise the curtailment of recreation, sanitation, or educational programs may affect the morale of citizens and soldiers alike. It would be a sorry comment if, in the midst of the greatest boom in our history, the quantity or quality of municipal services should be allowed to suffer. Not only can the nation afford efficient municipal services, it cannot during the war emergencies afford to be without them.

A Coordinated Fiscal Program

One of the requisites for successful defense is a coördinated fiscal program for the entire nation—one for its many governments and its people, one in which the policies of public and private finance are complementary. The program should cover taxes, expenditures, and debts. Harmonious policies among governments are required so as to avoid competitive expenditure, the only result of which would be to make all government functions—defense as well as others—more costly.

Tax and expenditure programs, the effect of which is to increase costs and create tendencies toward inflation, must be avoided. The federal government has already taken the leadership in the development of policies for financing defense and avoiding inflation; state and local governments should adapt their policies to the nation's program. All should become partners in the common enterprise, developing their programs so as to maximize defense and minimize the costs and hardships to citizens.

The nation has long needed a unified tax system, and one that would impose substantially equal burdens on citizens and business throughout the country. The independence with which the various states have framed tax legislation has led to unsavory competition between them for the location of industry, the domicile of the wealthy, and even the closing of state borders to the poor. Attempts have been made to develop home industries at the expense of trade with neighboring commonwealths. Tariff barriers within the nation have been erected by short-sighted states. Tax burdens have been inequitably distributed and have increased in many sections far out of proportion to the

(Continued on Page 129)

British Civilian Agencies in the War

There are many differences between the British and American patterns of local government; but there is much of profit to be learned from British experience.

By ERIC H. BIDDLE
American Public Welfare Association

A COMPREHENSIVE discussion of the effects of modern war upon local government would call for an examination of every branch of local government operating under war conditions, so all-pervading is the impact of total war.

During recent years, as war swept over Europe and Asia, it was only natural that its more dramatic aspects should register themselves most vividly on the consciousness of American observers. In the field of local government it was the new air-raid precaution services that caught the imagination of Americans viewing the spreading conflagration from afar—the auxiliary fire fighting and anti-gas measures and the casualty services. No one will deny the fateful and important part which the A.R.P. services have played in the preservation of the lives of the British people and the conservation of their property.

Yet, it is in the long developed, permanent services of government that we must look for the most significant changes effected by war conditions. Here are three important changes brought about by the impact of war:

(1) There is a strong tendency towards positive action in very many areas affecting the lives of the British people in which the government was formerly negative in its attitude.

(2) Increased efforts to meet war needs by maximizing the productivity of every worker have involved strengthening virtually all of the existing social services and adding a number of new ones to meet wartime needs.

(3) A greater degree of integration between local and national government has been brought about by defense requirements.

Take the first of these changes—the transition to positive government—and consider but three examples of this increased government intervention in the life of the citizen:

First: The Minister of Labor is empowered by defense regulations to direct any citizen to undertake any task in the United Kingdom connected with the war effort in Britain.

Second: The Minister of Health may requisition any residential property in Britain for the housing of evacuated children, transferred civil servants, or war workers.

Third: A greater control is being exercised over the distribution of income among the people by steeply increased income taxes and profits taxes, and over the distribution of supplies by rationing systems. Thus, the basic income tax (including com-

pulsory savings) has been stepped up and now ranges from a minimum of 50 per cent of net income to 97½ per cent in the upper surtax brackets. Another control of economic life is the concentration of industry, which groups industries whose output is not essential under war conditions around a nucleus firm, in order to keep some vestige of the business going for the duration of the war. By the closing of the other firms, large numbers of workers are released for the war effort.

It does not take much reflection on these facts to recognize that the exercise of each of these powers represents the infusion of national or local government in an important way into practically every human activity.

Control in Moderation

Observers generally agree that these powers have been exercised with the most extraordinary moderation, considering the situation in which Britain has found itself during the past year. Take, for example, those which the government has exerted over man power. To implement these powers the Minister of Labor adopted the National Arbitration Order which provides for the ultimate sanction of compulsory arbitration and is a declaration against strikes and lockouts.

It is worth noting that before promulgating this order, the Ministry of Labor originally referred it in its proposed form to a joint consultative committee of six representatives of the Trades Union Congress and six representatives from the British Employers' Confederation. After consultation between these representatives and the executive committees of their respective constituent bodies, the order was modified in important respects.

This same general scheme had been followed in the case of all other restrictive orders arising out of the wartime authorities over man power which had been conferred upon the Minister of Labor. An appeal machinery also exists to which workers may appeal for deferment from military service, the operation of the Essential Work Orders, or any other compulsive action.

In general, this method of procedure pervades the entire operation of the various restrictive measures referred to above.

Nevertheless, these enormous governmental powers do exist. To a very large extent they are being exercised, and to some extent they represent the temporary surrender or suspension of the highly valued and hard won rights of various sections of the population, notably the workers. It has often been said that all of this represents the determination of the British people to win the war. It is clear that if an objective is sufficiently desired by a large enough number of people in any country, there is a tendency to adopt collective measures the effect of which will be to increase the intervention of the state in the lives of the people.

First, it is important to recognize that these measures were not forced upon the British people by a dictator, but were adopted with the full support of the Labor party which, in the early stages of the war, pressed more vigorously for strengthening the

national effort by such means than did the Conservative party itself.

Second, the strengthening and expansion of the British social services is largely a counterpart of the first consideration. If the national purpose is to increase the production of the nation by such extreme measures as already referred to, then it follows that the government must insure that adequate food, clothing, medical care, and other necessities are available in order to guarantee the maximum productivity of every worker.

Welfare Programs Expanded

The government has provided that the unemployment and health insurance programs shall be broadened to include additional groups of workers and that benefits shall be increased because of the increased cost of living. In 1940 a supplementary Old Age Insurance Act was adopted which enabled recipients of contributory benefits to receive supplementary benefits from the Assistance Board (an agency of the central government). Nearly a million people, therefore, were removed from local poor relief rolls. The age at which women qualify for receipt of contributory old-age insurance was reduced from 65 to 60.

By a wartime act, known as the "Prevention and Relief of Distress Act," the Assistance Board is enabled to provide grants of financial assistance for individuals whose income falls below a certain level or who have lost their income as a result of war causes. The Assistance Board is also in a position to provide assistance for civilians injured in action, who are subsequently entitled to pensions for continuing disability as a result of the war injury. Real property and household goods are, within certain limits, covered under a compulsory War Damage Insurance Act.

It is still difficult for Americans to visualize the extent to which such controls have been adopted in England and their implications upon the problems of public administration, to mention only one aspect of their far-reaching effects. It is only a short time since Congress declared war. A price control bill has recently been passed by Congress. The Office of Production Management has announced the suspension of the sale of automobiles and a rationing plan which rigidly limits the supply of tires.

Yet even today Americans tend to think of these measures with a kind of finality as though each represented the last step in restriction upon personal habits. Local government officials will be quick to recognize that these are only the first of many similar sacrifices that will have to be made in the interests of the war effort. Each successive step in this direction will create new and difficult problems for public administrators.

When the food supply of Britain was threatened, people became more aware of the need to insure that everyone receive an adequate supply of nourishing food. Local authorities were encouraged to open public restaurants known as "British Restaurants" where a substantial hot meal could be obtained by any one on the payment of the standard price, which ran from eight pence to a shilling.

Any one who could not afford to pay could receive free tickets for the meal from the Public Assistance Committees. The national government financed deficiencies incurred in the operation of these restaurants and underwrote their capital costs.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Labor established an advisory board dealing with welfare measures, both inside and outside the factory. Among the measures resulting from this board's deliberation was the promulgation of a rule by the Ministry of Labor requiring all factories employing more than 250 persons, upon order of the factory inspector, to provide a canteen equipped to serve a hot meal during each shift. Another rule has been adopted to the effect that factory inspectors may require that any new defense industry factory have a full or part-time medical service. Many additional measures provide for new social services for children and mothers evacuated to the country districts, as well as measures for the provision of additional community activities in or near air raid shelters. This account does not by any means exhaust the list of the new welfare measures, but gives some idea of the vast increase of social service provisions.

With the exception of the factory welfare measures which are in the main the direct responsibility of the Ministry of Labor, and the further exception of the extended services of the Assistance Board, the actual carrying out of most of these services is in the hands of local government officials. Wartime demands have put a new emphasis on the functions of local government and the qualifications of local government officials. So much are these services involved with the personal habits, likes and dislikes of the people in the community that they are matters of daily concern.

It is true that government had previously been concerned with such matters as education, public assistance, parks and playgrounds, and utilities. But more vital matters, such as air raid precautions, life in shelters, the evacuation of children, or the operation of British restaurants, required a greater understanding of the way of life of the people, their habits and desires, their hopes and fears.

Local Officials Important

The relationship of the local official to the community as a whole in the pre-war period was an important one, but it was generally related to matters that were impersonal to most of the community. The emphasis has now changed to matters of vital personal concern for citizens.

But as to most of these matters, the local official, by force of circumstances, is dependent on an integrated national service. Thus, if an air-raid warning is to be given in sufficient time to serve its purpose, an elaborate national communications system must be functioning on all cylinders. Or, take the matter of transport, which is of such vital concern to the safety and comfort of people. More than ever, under war conditions, local authorities are responsible for supervision of local highway transportation. As to the national fuel supply, it is an elaborate system of government procure-

ment and distribution that must provide the necessary gasoline that "makes the bus go."

Again, in a time of heavy enemy attack, all the services that the locality has at hand will not be enough. There will be a need to bring wardens and fire fighters and other personnel from distant points to supplement local services. And since the extent of the attack cannot be predicted, there must be a comprehensive organization whose authority covers a territory as wide as the need may require.

This brings us to the third point—the greater integration of local and national government which has been the inevitable outcome of the war. To meet this situation the national government created a new Ministry—the Ministry of Home Security—whose responsibility it is to devise the major strategy and tactics of defense, acting through a regional commissioner in each of the twelve civil defense regions into which the country has been divided. When the government designed the civil defense areas, it elected to utilize to the maximum possible extent the initiative and resources of local authorities.

Thus, when the local authority established its warden services, casualty services, police and rescue functions, it was the regional commissioner's duty to approve all the plans submitted before the central government would reimburse the local authority for its expenditures. The regional commissioners also worked out mutual aid schemes and directed transfer of personnel and equipment from one local authority to the other within the region as need arose.

At the outset, the authority of regional commissioners tended to be resented as an invasion of local responsibility. But once the bombs began to fall, the criticism much more generally tended the other way. Result: a pressure on the regional commissioners and the central government to assume more responsibility and leadership in both the development of preblitz measures and actual supervision of their operations.

The process has represented an evolutionary development as a result of wartime experience. There seems to be widespread agreement that some form of regionalization will become a permanent part of the British government, probably quite different in kind and form from the present system which is actually a devolution of the national government, rather than the concentration of any combination of local authorities as such. It will be of especial interest to American observers that all of the ministries dealing with internal affairs and concerned with civil defense have been required to set up the same regions of operation, and each such region is now co-extensive with the boundaries of the twelve civil defense regions.

Granting that there are many differences between the British and American patterns of local government, nevertheless the central problems of war administration confronting local government in the two countries differ mainly in degree. There is much of profit to be learned from the British experience.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address before the Forty-seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, November 18, 1941.

Impact of National Defense on Family Life

The life that Americans have made for themselves and their families is far from perfect; but we are free to work together for its improvement.

By ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN
Chief Information Officer, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services

WHAT DOES defense mean to the average American family? Until recently it has meant practically nothing to many of them. One woman, for example, felt she had a personal grievance against the entire United States government because her new electric refrigerator was delivered without its proper complement of aluminum ice trays. The newspapers carried a story about a fond mama who boasted that she had been able to get her selectee son home from camp three times with the same cryptic telegram: "Come home at once. Grandma is dead." All she neglected to specify was that grandma had been dead for something like ten years.

Even before war was declared a lot of people had learned what defense means at first hand. Here are a few who can speak from their own experience:

The farmer whose pasture accommodates 23 trailers, and the close to a hundred men, women, and children—powder plant workers and their families—who are living in this temporary slum-on-wheels;

The trucker who hauls drinking water twelve miles to another squatter settlement near a new defense plant and the families that must depend on this meager supply until the city pipe line catches up with them;

The manufacturer who is working against time to switch from lingerie lace to army mosquito net and his employees and their families who may otherwise be on relief;

The small town furniture dealer who bedded down overflow soldiers on the fine new mattresses in his showroom after the maneuver invasion had exhausted all the sleeping quarters in every home, tourist camp, and hotel in town.

These incidents are important, not because they are extraordinary, but because they are matter of course. By now things like this are part and parcel of the day's work to thousands upon thousands of Americans and their families.

Under the guidance of Charles P. Taft, its assistant director, the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services is compiling an over-all list of defense communities—those where military posts or expanding defense industries have disrupted ordinary life. There are something like a thousand of these towns, big and little, and the families who live in them don't need to be told that national defense begins at home.

It was natural that recreation for men in military service should have been the first of these defense problems to boil to the surface and demand attention. At any rate, for

more than a year now people in all these towns have been working whole-heartedly at this job and it has changed the pattern of life not only for the men in camp but also for the families in the towns. Grange halls, church parlors, courthouse squares, school gyms, local swimming holes, vacant stores, family living rooms—and even family bathtubs—have been pieced together into a pattern of real community hospitality—a demonstration of what practical ingenuity and plain human kindness can do. It is not too much to say that for the men in uniform and for their hosts this experience "blesseth him that gives and him that takes."

It did not take long to see that something had to be done for a million and a half men, most of them young, many of them away from home for the first time and thrown suddenly into the strange and stringent surroundings of military training.

Army in Overalls

It has taken longer to realize that for the army in overalls life is at least as uprooted and even more complicated. There are many times more people on the production line of national defense than there are in military service and more of them have families. In spite of relatively good wages, most defense workers do not draw munificent pay—the average is about $140 a month. On this income a defense worker with a family is, to say the least, not much better off than the army private—who gets his keep as well as his $21 a month.

The defense family's first headache is to get a roof over its head. Rents have skyrocketed. And beds, like machines, are being used in three shifts in more than one defense town these days. But say that a family gets some kind of a roof over its head. How is it going to eat? With food prices going up, $50 a month provides only bare necessities for a family of four. Add transportation, clothes, doctors' bills, and the inevitable odds and ends, and the industrial worker's family has very little left out of its $140 a month.

Even if its members have money for recreation, where can they go? When factories work round the clock, men and women have their free time at awkward hours. Some defense plants are in country villages as overcrowded as any camp town. Others are in cities which sometimes seem to feel that the place for these strangers is literally and figuratively on the other side of the tracks. Movies and restaurants are not content merely to hang out standing-room-only signs. They lock their doors when the crowd of potential customers gets too thick. Gambling joints, drinking places, and dance halls do a land-office business.

Schools are overtaxed, kindergartens are being discontinued, and elementary and high school classes run in two shifts. One town closed all its 23 schools until after the first of the year. And even where there are school buildings, it is hard to get teachers because there is no place for them to live. Children are short of care not only at school but at home. Many women are working in the defense plants along with their husbands. The children are left to shift for themselves—on the streets unless the mother takes the somewhat precarious precaution of locking them in.

It is not unheard of for two or three youngsters under school age to spend the day cooped up in a trailer with the door bolted on the outside. You can't lock adolescents in so easily and among older boys and girls there has been a marked increase in juvenile delinquency.

The permanent residents in some of these industrial towns are beginning to see that they cannot wash their hands of this problem. They are opening their doors to the newcomers. One small city whose population has increased about 200 per cent has set up eight family clubs in different neighborhoods. Every one of them is used 24 hours a day as people come off the three shifts in the defense plant.

Schools Inadequate

School shortages are also being met somehow. More schools are being built at strategic points with federal help where necessary. Yet this fall there were in the United States some 350,000 youngsters who were school children only by courtesy. Overcrowded defense towns had no schools to which to send them. Emergency quarters are, however, being found. One town has housed overflow children in a vacant store. School books and supplies have been made to do double duty. The town's undertakers provided chairs; its hardware dealers, coat hooks and paint to turn one wall into a blackboard; its fuel dealers, coal; and across the street the "Keep Off the Grass" signs came out of the town square to make way for a playground.

For older children defense pressures on schooling are, if anything, even more acute. For a boy or girl who has grown up in a family on the borderline of poverty, the temptation to stop school and go to work may be particularly hard to resist today. Wages seem high in comparison to the meager past and opportunities are unusually plentiful for young workers because they are easy to train and because they are not subject to selective service. This is a particularly acute problem in agricultural areas. With the shortage of farm workers the regular employment age of sixteen has a tendency to be overlooked. Yet the false economy of letting young people stop school too soon is underscored by the needs of defense. Job training for young people who are ready for it—and considerably more than a million finish high school or college this year—is essential. Without it the young job seeker is caught in a vicious circle. He cannot get a job because he has no experience; he cannot get experience because he has no job.

This problem is, of course, not confined to youth. Too many families remain on the borderline of dependency because the wage earner has, even in these times, no marketable skill. Yet these are the very families who are most likely to pile the children into the old car and start off on any rumor of distant jobs.

The repercussions of defense reach even those who seem most remote from the main stream of national activity—some 10,000 farm families, most of them in the five states of Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Missouri, have been uprooted to clear the great open spaces needed for the military and industrial operations of all-out war.

Even families to whom defense activity offers promise of increased security may meet tragedy. Migration and the hazards of often physically dangerous defense industry are ever-present threats and there is also the very real possibility that shortages and priorities may create a new kind of spot depression in the midst of capacity production.

Add to all these the fact that there is still in this country a vast no man's land unprotected by any adequate nationwide provision for general relief. A recent count shows that in 134 counties in ten states not one single payment was being made for general relief to needy families or individuals who were so unlucky as not to meet the requirements for protection under the Social Security Act.

These are some of the high spots, but these are the beginning rather than the end of the home-front problem. Add to the millions now or soon to be in military service all those in defense industry, and you get a tremendous total.

Nutrition Important

But this number, large as it is, represents only a small fraction of the whole American people. Families all over the country are ready and eager to do their part. One place where families can start—and start now—is in fighting malnutrition.

During the last ten years more progress has been made in the science of nutrition than at any time in the past. Yet with all this knowledge and with the greatest food resources in the world, we are not well fed. Selective service figures show that out of a million men, more than 150,000 were unfit for military service because of physical disabilities due in one way or another to malnutrition. These were the children of a generation ago. What about the children of today?

Utilizing food for health is a national responsibility. It involves nationwide production, processing, distribution, buying power, and consumer education but it is also a peculiarly local problem. Three meals a day don't happen in some never-never land called "the national scene." They happen where people are—at the family table or in a one-arm quick lunch. Federal agencies stand ready to help on this front as on others, but the job itself must be done in the homes and by the housewives of the nation.

These are some of the problems, the challenges, that national defense brings into American family life. The liabilities are all too apparent—the dangers of overcrowding, insanitation, epidemics, disrupted schooling, malnutrition, and the breaking up of families by all sorts of economic and social hazards.

Against these, however, there are at least some assets: Perhaps we shall now make up at least some of our arrears in community service and family protection. People are always readier to work together in hard times than when everything looks rosy, and we should capitalize on this awakened concern.

There are signs all over the country that we are doing just this. We are beginning to realize that defense towns need not only more *things*—more schools and hospitals and recreation facilities and roads—but also

(Continued on Page 105)

Developing Responsible Citizens

Education for constructive citizenship is infinitely more involved and more important than the fragmentary courses offered in our schools and colleges today.

By ALONZO G. GRACE
Commissioner of Education, State of Connecticut

THE National Municipal League since its inception has had a vital interest in the training of the citizens of tomorrow for active participation in local government. The program of education for civic responsibility, sponsored by the League over these many years, is well known to the membership and to many citizens throughout this country. A more recent development, however, is the establishment of a section of the League's annual National Conference on Government for the discussion of the relationships between government and education. The primary objective of this growing section of the conference is to bring the educator, the expert in the field of political science, and the practitioner in the field of government into closer cooperation.

Public education was the subject of the first general session of the 1941 St. Louis meeting, with discussion of the theme "Developing Responsible Citizens." The following day one of the major sectional meetings was devoted to "Reorganizing Our Public Schools."

Developing Responsible Citizens

It is evident that education for constructive citizenship is infinitely more involved and more important than the fragmentary course in civics offered in the secondary school. It involves more than the course in political science or American government in college which the few students may elect.

A study of the problems and principles of democracy must be made concrete and utilized if our effort be successful. An effective education for citizenship must include not only adequate provision for the mastery of fundamental intellectual tools and techniques of learning, but also a thorough understanding of the social system of which the individual is an integral part. It includes self-discipline which is fundamental in the quest for freedom, for only when the individual is conscious of having conquered himself is freedom either desirable or safe for society or the individuals therein. Freedom is an attainment that is conditioned by discriminating judgment. An effective education includes all the techniques, habits, appreciations, and attitudes that make complete living possible for the individual with other individuals.

The production of a constructive attitude toward government and the democratic way is not possible merely by waiting for it to develop. It may be pertinent, perhaps, to summarize several of the major concepts presented in this discussion on constructive citizenship:

1. Education for civic responsibility involves more than classroom teaching. It involves a coördinated

effort in which the total resources of the community, including the school, are utilized.

2. Training for democracy begins by putting democracy to work. This is illustrated by the extra-curricular activities in the school, and, in particular, by the student council organization.

3. A program of apprentice training in socially constructive enterprises in the community is essential in a realistic approach to responsible citizenship. Organizations in our communities should have affiliated with them promising leadership in secondary schools and colleges; membership in and service on committees of such organizations as the League of Women Voters, American Association of University Women, chambers of commerce, rotary clubs, and others is recommended.

4. Responsible citizenship involves more than casting a ballot. It involves consistent and constant alertness to civic problems and the willingness to assume responsibility in arriving at rational decisions concerning the solution of these problems.

5. A course in democracy must become something more than a streamlined course in civics. We are too prone to use terms without changing the context of the course.

Reorganizing Our Public Schools

Many problems were presented at the section concerned with the redirection of public education. In addition to two able papers on the educational program itself, certain other major problems were presented. These were as follows:

I. Organization of Administrative Units

There are in our country literally thousands of small school districts, in many cases educationally ineffective and financially costly. Four important points should be kept in mind, however, as we study administrative organization. These are:

1. *Use Resources of the State*

The study of administrative units within a state should be accomplished by utilizing the wisdom and intelligence in that state. The real job involves not only research but an adult education program as well, if there be fruitful results. In too many cases magnificent studies have been completed but the machinery for putting the research into operation has not been developed.

2. *Consolidation May Not Reduce Costs*

Consolidation should not be sold to a people on the basis of economy. Consolidated schools definitely will cost more in most cases. On the other hand, an improved educational service generally is the result.

3. *Distinction Between Administrative Unit and Attendance Area*

A clear distinction must be drawn between the administrative unit, which is a taxing area and the area for administrative purposes, and the attendance area, which represents the school which a child or youth will attend. America must recover from the idea that consolidation or the creation of larger administrative units means that there shall be but one school within the area. There may be one or more high schools, junior high schools, several elementary schools, and possibly a one-teacher school within an administrative unit.

4. *Service Unit*

Beyond the administrative unit there is need in America for the development of an intermediate service district to provide such services as cannot be provided effectively within a single administrative unit. In some cases services may be rendered directly by the

state, perhaps in other cases by the federal government, but *within a state* such matters as transportation, visual education, supervision, improvement of instruction, health examinations, frequently may be better considered on a regional basis.

II. Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools

Membership on the board of education is perhaps the most important office a citizen can hold. Not only is the board of education responsible for the expenditure of a considerable portion of the community's taxes, but also it is developing the policies—if it is a real board of education—that determine the kind of education the community shall have.

Service on a board of education must be entirely non-political. The board must be composed of statesmen devoted to the study of educational problems and to the determination of fundamental policies. The business of the board is to select the best obtainable executive officer, or superintendent, and then permit him to work. *The superintendent of schools should be the sole person responsible to the board.* No administrative organization is sound, nor is anyone responsible, if the superintendent is superintendent in name only. There cannot be three or four people representing different areas of the educational organization reporting directly to the board of education if there be a coordinated organization, and if the superintendent of schools be held responsible for this major enterprise.

No board of education should exceed nine in membership. In many of our states larger boards still prevail. Such boards are unwieldy and frequently fail to devote themselves to the study of fundamental policy. Where school systems have competent personnel little excuse exists for the division of a board of education into committees to carry on the administrative work that should be done by the experts appointed by the board.

III. Federal-State-Local Relations

For over a generation a new kind of federalism has been developing in our country. There is need in the light of trends during recent years for new definitions of federalism and localism. Perhaps the one fundamental ideal implicit in democratic organization, and most important to the maintenance of democratic ideals, is the strengthening of local initiative and responsibility. The efficiency of government is measured not only in terms of effective organization and efficient management, but also in terms of the sustained interest of the governed. We must distinguish between the policy that may be established by a centralized authority and the administration of policy. Fundamental principles are involved here not only from the standpoint of education but also from the point of view of our whole governmental structure.

IV. Organization of State Education Departments

One of the most potentially important parts of the educational organization is the state department of education. Inasmuch as the state, legally and traditionally, is responsible for education, it is essential that state departments of education be strengthened. The function of the department should be leadership, service, research, and planning. It should administer statutes in an educational manner. It should not become a domineering bureaucracy. It must be composed of scholars and leaders in the field of education. Its leadership and research should be sought by, not imposed upon, local school systems.

The staffs of state departments of education should be selected solely on the basis of merit. In each of our states there must develop a condition which will make possible scholarship, acceptable leadership, and fruitful research and planning on the part of the departments of education. This is a major problem in America.

V. Development of a Sound Education Program

In spite of the magnificent progress

which has been made in the educational program, the last ten years have revealed many deficiencies. Too often the secondary school program has become primarily a training for college. It has been almost wholly academic in nature. There has been too little occupational training in many of our school systems. There has been no widely accepted program to make democracy function in a school system. What we need is a horizontal education for life and not a vertical education for more education.

We need in America acceptance of the qualitative ideal even in a mass education system. Perhaps it is better that we do fewer things in our schools, and do them better, than run the risk of mediocrity. Our youth must learn not only how to make a living but they must learn how to live. Our procedure has been one largely of memorization, of repeating on examination, verbatim, textbook assignments or lectures. Men must be taught how to think independently and constructively, and this will never be done through a memorization procedure.

VI. Close Relationship Between Government and Education as Part of Government

We have in America one school of thought that conceives of the American school system as a fourth branch of government. The arguments by those who share this opinion and by opponents have not served to bring the two groups, so-called, together. It is my opinion, however, that this conference of the National Municipal League, together with developments in the Graduate School of Education and the Littauer School of Harvard University, in the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse, and similar developments, will tend to bring the educator and the specialist in the field of governmental organization more closely together.

No thinking citizen desires to return to the procedures and practices either in government or in education that prevailed in generations past. On the other hand, every citizen has a right to expect these social institutions to keep pace with changes in society. The simple process of adding services or of developing new functions, either by legislative enactments or through social pressure, to meet the exigencies of the moment does not necessarily indicate progress. Destructive criticism, unintelligent budget-cutting, and false economy will not solve the major problems. A far-sighted policy of planning and of constructive action should be the ultimate objective of all who seek to preserve and to improve these fundamental institutions. The meeting of educators with the political scientist, the city manager, the governmental research expert, and others inevitably will lead to constructive results. The program of the National Municipal League must become better known.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Resumé of educational sessions held at the Forty-seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, November 17 and 18, 1941.

Correction. The article in last month's REVIEW, "Cities to the Fore in Wartime England," by A. Emil Davies, was based on a talk before the Institute on Administrative Responsibility in War, conducted by the Bureau of Training of the New York City Civil Service Commission, and not before the Arkwright Club (at whose address it was held) as erroneously stated in the editorial note following the text of the address.

Writing a New Constitution

National Municipal League's Committee on State Government reports to the St. Louis Conference.

By W. BROOKE GRAVES, Temple University
Chairman, Committee on State Government of the National Municipal League

THE *Model State Constitution* was originally published in 1921 and revised in 1928 and 1933. The new fourth edition is the result of two years of fairly constant effort on the part of the Committee on State Government.

In the interests of continuity about half the members of the preceding committee were asked to continue as members of the new committee. Members were selected, not only with a view to achieving a high level of professional competence, but to getting a wide range of geographical distribution so that all types of states and conditions might be taken into account.

Interests of committee members were so distributed that it was possible to delegate to each member responsibility for revision of some one article of the constitution, the subject matter of which lay within his field of specialization.

In addition the committee had the assistance of some seventy-five persons in academic life and in the public service each of whom possessed some special competence, and who served as a consultant.[1]

Thus, every reasonable effort was made to organize and make use of the talent and ability of a great many of the best informed persons in the country on problems of state government. The final result in every case, however, was the work of the entire committee.

Many difficulties confronted the committee. The number of states is considerable, and the conditions confronting them are nearly as varied as the states are numerous.

The committee quickly realized it would be impossible to devise a constitutional form or mold into which the needs and requirements of all the states could be poured. The committee never conceived of its work as providing a plan applicable in its entirety to conditions in any one state; it hoped, rather, that its work might be viewed as charting the way, as indicating the desirable lines of development in state institutions. It expected that states holding constitutional conventions would make such modifications as local conditions might require. In such event the recommendations of the committee, regarded as best for a majority of situations, would have served their purpose.

Another difficulty related to the concept of a so-called model constitution. The term itself is not a happy one, but no suitable substitute appeared. The committee tried to avoid the drafting of a constitution which might be characterized as "a small imitation of the real thing." It was faced with the necessity of choosing

[1] A list of committee members and consultants will be found in the 1941 edition of the *Model State Constitution,* National Municipal League, 50 cents.

between proposals which were so idealistic as to be of a utopian character and those which might be accepted and used at some time in the predictable future. In making these decisions, the committee tried to look ahead without loosing sight of the practical; it sought to temper its judgment of what ought to be with its knowledge of what could be accomplished under existing conditions.

Characteristics of Constitution

The new edition of the *Model State Constitution,* which has been greatly improved in form and arrangement, must be considered as a whole. There may be temptation to select this item from one article or another item from some other; the committee has tried consistently to tie in each important provision to related matters in other parts of the constitution. The provisions for continuous sessions of the legislature, for instance, affect the relations of the executive and legislative branches with regard to the veto power, fiscal matters, and general administrative surveillance. It is dangerous, therefore, without careful scrutiny of the whole plan, to pull one group of provisions out of their context.

Believing that one of the reasons why the states have so often lost power to the federal government has been their frequent inability to take proper and effective action because of constitutional restrictions, the committee has tried to make each of the three branches of government free and responsible, and to provide between each pair of branches that degree of coöperation deemed to be essential to the proper discharge of the entire government's responsibility to its citizens. This has meant omitting a great amount of legislative matter and many mandatory provisions now commonly found in state constitutions.

In spite of this attempt to exclude non-essential provisions, and in spite of the committee's determination to adhere to generally accepted principles of constitution-making, the increased number and expanding scope of government activities has resulted in a document of greater length than the one it replaces—117 sections as compared with 98, arranged this time in thirteen articles. The numbering system used for articles and sections, similar to that used in legislative codes, makes possible the incorporation of amendments with a minimum of change and inconvenience.

Here are some of the more important features of the new constitution:

It is short where most of the existing constitutions are long;

It recognizes some of the newer social and economic rights of individuals;

It recommends a single house legislature instead of a senate and house;

It makes legislation a continuous process rather than a biennial jam session, and provides for improved legislative procedure;

It makes the governor the chief executive in fact as well as in theory;

It provides for a unified court system, with adequate provision for the administration of the work of the courts;

It provides the most up-to-date methods of financial supervision and control;

It continues to emphasize the

importance of home rule for local units;

It places all state employees and all employees of civil divisions under the merit system;

It contains a flexible grant of authority in the public welfare field, broadly conceived;

It recognizes the importance of recent developments in the field of intergovernmental relations;

It seeks to make possible, by self-executing provisions, the periodic revision of the constitution, and to provide for the proper conduct of constitutional conventions;

It includes a schedule to ease transition from the old constitution to the new.

In presenting the new constitution to the National Conference on Government at St. Louis, the members of the panel were chosen for the most part from the personnel of the committee or from its consultants. Each participant attempted to summarize the outstanding features of the article on which he spoke. Several distinguished persons, mostly residents of St. Louis or of Missouri, were called upon to take part in the discussion.

The Bill of Rights

By Robert S. Rankin
Duke University

In revising a state constitution few changes are usually made in its bill of rights. Fundamental rights remain fundamental rights down through the years. In times of war, when rights are limited, the preservation of civil rights becomes very important. The temporary limitation of these rights is not because of any low value placed upon them, but because of their paramount importance.

What is desired is a clear, concise statement of these rights. Indeed a broad statement of fundamental rights is all that is required; and, generally speaking, no long itemized statement should be attempted in any state constitution. In the *Model State Constitution,* therefore, provisions were intentionally basic and brief. An attempt was made to avoid duplication of provisions in the federal constitution.

New sections have been included on legal rights, and for the purpose of preventing raids on the public treasury by interest groups. The duties of citizens as well as their rights are emphasized.

Consideration was given to the possible inclusion of new rights—such products of our technological age as the right to organize and the right of collective bargaining—that might be as fundamental as some of those long recognized.

Suffrage and Elections

By Wilbert L. Hindman
University of Southern California

The provisions on the suffrage follow in the main the constitution of New York State.

Here especially was the committee perplexed by the difficulty of determining provisions suitable to large, populous, bipartisan states; to single-party states, chiefly small and rural in population; and to states with restricted suffrage.

The qualifications for voting follow the usual provisions; disqualifications for voting, involving corrupt practices, have been included in the belief that this subject is sufficiently important to justify inclusion in the constitution.

Provision is made for permanent registration and for absent voting. The use of voting machines is encouraged.

Election officers are to be selected in accordance with such methods as the legislature may prescribe, but in any event upon the basis of "merit and fitness, to be determined, as far as practicable, by competitive examination." It is thus sought to provide a means of escape from the evils of the bipartisan election board, found in many states, without forcing single-party states to adopt some system unsuited to their political practice.

The Legislature

By Frederic H. Guild, Research Director Kansas Legislative Council

The committee continues to believe that "a single body, chosen by proportional representation and not too large in number, will be at once more representative and efficient than the present two-chamber systems." It recognizes that the unicameral legislature will probably not be adopted in many states in the near future, and that, in fact, we have no assurance that this form would prove suitable in some of the larger and more populous states. (Senator Allen McReynolds of the Missouri legislature later voiced opposition to this feature of the new constitution.)

The major changes affecting the legislature are three in number: (1) The legislative process is made a continuous one. The need for legislation is not one that exists only during three or four months at the beginning of odd-numbered years. (2) The legislative council is strengthened as an agency of the legislature. (3) Emphasis is given to the improvement of committee procedure. These changes are designed to attain due process in lawmaking, as it has long been sought in law enforcement. The citizen has a right to know when, where, and by whom crucial decisions are made, and to know what they are after they have been made. Thus the meetings of legislative committees must be announced beforehand, a record of proceedings kept, and executive rules and regulations must be published before they can become effective.

The committee was of the opinion that, from the point of view of protecting and strengthening the machinery of the democratic process, nothing is more important than the improvement of legislative procedure.

Direct Legislation

By A. R. Hatton Professor-Emeritus, Northwestern University

The spread of the initiative and referendum represented an attempt to overcome the defects of a representative system that have so often failed to show a proper regard for public sentiment. Constitutional restrictions on the legislature had prevented some abuses, but had failed in the positive effort to secure desired legislation. The initiative and referendum offered a method of meeting this need.

Although the provisions on direct legislation in the earlier edition of the *Model State Constitution* were generally satisfactory, some changes were thought desirable. These were designed to make the provisions more specific, to eliminate confusion or

conflict, and to include some new restrictions and safeguards.

It is significant, however, that the successful operation of the other provisions in the constitution affecting legislation will have a tendency to make the devices of direct legislation less needed and probably less used.

The Executive

By W. Brooke Graves
Temple University

The new edition continues to stand firmly for the principle of concentration of administrative responsibility in a single popularly-elected executive. Recognizing the limitations imposed by the "span of control," effort has been made to restrict the number of departments without imposing unreasonable or improper limitations upon the power of the legislature to make such changes in the administrative setup as may from time to time seem desirable.

Formal recognition is given to the need for management in a new provision for an administrative manager of state affairs and for such administrative aides as may be required to assist the governor in his task of administrative supervision. For the present, it is suggested that these might include a financial assistant, a personnel assistant, a planning assistant, an assistant in the field of research and statistics, and an assistant in charge of public reporting and information—although, in keeping with the committee's policy of excluding the names of particular administrative officers from the constitution, these positions are not mentioned by name. The plan is similar to that recommended by the President's Committee on Administrative Management, and adopted when the Executive Office of the President was established.

The governor is elected, still for a four-year term, in alternate odd-numbered years. To insure the focusing of public attention upon the actions of the governor, it is provided that executive orders shall be published before they become law—a safeguard on the administrative process which has generally been overlooked in state government.

The Judiciary

By Dr. Graves

Unification is the keynote of the judiciary article, which provides for a general court of justice to perform all trial and appellate judicial functions of the state. The chief justice is made the executive head of the judicial department and is responsible for its efficient organization and smooth functioning. He is assisted by a judicial council representing all parts of the judicial system.

Since the chief justice and the judicial council would provide a continuous supervision of judicial agencies, they can be freed from frequent sporadic meddling by political officers. Thus a real independence of the judiciary is secured—an aim long lauded as an ideal, only to be flouted in practice.

The organization is flexible; the council is vested with rule-making power. The chief justice is popularly elected for a term of eight years; he selects the judges, from a panel of names recommended to him by the council, for a term of twelve years. Each judge is subject to an auto-

matic recall election at the expiration of one-third of his term, after the manner of the plan now in use in California and Missouri.

Taxation and Finance

By George H. McCaffrey
Commerce and Industry Association of New York

The article on finance is intended to include all provisions relative to state finance and financial procedure that the committee deemed it necessary to write into the constitution. These provisions relate to general taxing and borrowing powers, debt limitations, budgeting, expenditure control, purchasing methods, post-auditing, and excess condemnation.

Such items as accounting procedure are not covered; their necessity is taken for granted, and it is assumed that they may be adequately provided for by statute.

These provisions seek to make effective the principles of administrative organization established in the article on the executive. In conformity with the trend of recent years, financial functions should probably be integrated in a department of finance.

The governor is made responsible for submitting a comprehensive budget to the legislature. He is given power to require estimates and other information from all spending agencies; the procedure to be followed is outlined, and the resulting appropriation bill is given priority in the legislature. The governor is given authority to reduce expenditures under appropriations when, in his judgment, it is necessary or desirable, and through allotments or otherwise to control the rate at which appropriations are expended during the fiscal year.

There is a provision to encourage centralized and coöperative purchasing, and for an effective post-audit.

Local Government

By Roscoe C. Martin
University of Alabama

A commentator on a constitution for a modern state may perhaps be pardoned for approaching his assignment with certain preconceptions, such as the belief that all constitutional provisions should be held to a minimum, and that they should be phrased in general terms. As he contemplates provisions on local government, he may also expect to find recognition of the trend toward centralization, the fundamental soundness of which is now widely accepted.

The decision of the Committee on State Government to include in one article the provisions on city and county government is in accord with the goals of simplicity in organization and brevity in expression, but as a solution of the local government problem in the constitution, it is beset with certain difficulties. Cities and counties are, in fact, quite different in legal nature. There are not only important differences between the two in their relations with the state but in the purposes served and the governmental functions performed.

When one approaches the specific question as to what the local government article should contain, the significance of these difficulties becomes apparent. Clearly, provision should be made for the creation and organization of the government of both

types of local unit. The legal status of these units, involving the important question of home rule for cities and counties, should be clearly defined, as should their powers, the constitutional statement of which must be supplemented by statutory provisions.

Provision for intergovernmental relations is highly essential in a modern constitution. Those relating to the interrelations of local units may well authorize transfers of functions, functional consolidation through inter-unit contracts for services, and coöperative action. In the larger field of state-local relations, separate provisions should be included governing the relations of the state with its counties and with its cities. State administrative supervision is essential in the case of the former; provision for home rule plus state administrative supervision in the case of the latter.

How, then, does the new *Model State Constitution* measure up to these specifications in its local government article? As a general observation it may be said that there is much in article VIII to be commended, but that the decision of the committee to make similar provisions for both cities and counties is open to question. The provisions in section 800 on the creation and organization of local units are good. Section 801 properly provides for home rule for cities, but the extension of this principle to counties may be questioned. The inclusion of detailed provisions regarding the procedure to be followed in the framing, adoption, and amending of local charters is definitely objectionable. As some members of the committee well realized, this type of provision violates the well accepted principles of constitution-making, already referred to.

Section 802 on the powers of local units, the first part of section 803 on the powers of counties, and the first paragraph of section 804 on the powers of municipalities, are all good, but the lengthy enumeration of specific powers of cities in section 804 is certainly unnecessary and may not be sound.

Section 805 is a step in the right direction; the minimum of state supervision should cover budgeting, purchasing, the accounting system (accrual, double-entry), auditing, financial reporting, and personnel. Some of these items, to be sure, are included elsewhere in the constitution.

Civil Service and Public Welfare

The provisions on civil service were drafted at a joint meeting of committees representing the National Municipal League, the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, and the National Civil Service Reform League. An effort was made to include the entire civil service of the state and its political subdivisions, including legislative and judicial employees, under merit system provisions.

A department is made responsible for the classification of positions, the establishment of salary ranges, the establishment of rosters, and the general administration of personnel functions. Counties and municipalities which prefer to operate their own

personnel agencies may do so under state supervision; otherwise, they are subject to the jurisdiction of the department.

The provisions on public welfare, which have been considerably revised, seek to outline a general framework of constitutional powers which will guarantee to the state ample authority to establish and maintain an effective program of public welfare services in the fields of education, health, public assistance, inspection of welfare institutions, housing, conservation, and the protection of the sightliness and good physical order of the state.

In order to prevent the possibly unfortunate effects of a narrow judicial construction of these provisions, it is specifically provided that "the enumeration in this article of specified functions shall not be construed as a limitation upon the powers of the state government."

Intergovernmental Relations and Constitutional Revision

The article on intergovernmental relations is largely new, and grows out of the experience of recent years. Its provisions seek to eliminate constitutional barriers to federal-state and interstate coöperation, and to encourage the consolidation and cooperation of local units.

The questions which arise in this field are so numerous, and consequently so pressing, that definite provision should be made in advance to insure the constitutionality of such measures as may be thought necessary by responsible legislative and executive officers. The importance of these provisions is now being daily emphasized as national, state, and local governments grapple with the problems arising in connection with the defense effort.

Provisions governing the legislative proposal of constitutional amendments have been revised to conform to the idea of continuous legislative activity. The people are given the right to vote on the question of a constitutional convention at least once in twenty years, and provisions with regard to the number and method of choosing convention delegates have been redrawn.

There is provision for a preparatory commission to assemble information relating to constitutional questions for the assistance of delegates. Provisions affecting constitutional amendment and revision are made self-executing, but the legislature may adopt legislation to facilitate their operation. A schedule has been added to provide for the transition from the old constitution to the new.

Conclusion

In view of the long period of constitutional stagnation that has afflicted the American states in the Twentieth Century, it is to be hoped that the publication of this new edition of the *Model State Constitution* will stimulate interest and activity in this field. There are hopeful signs in the recent conventions in New York and New Hampshire, and in the widespread interest in constitutional revision which has developed in New Jersey, Michigan, and Missouri.

Editor's Note.—Resumé of session on "Writing a New State Constitution," held at the Forty-seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, November 19, 1941.

Contributors in Review

WORKING side by side with air raid wardens and social workers during and after the air attacks on every major British city in 1940-41, **Eric H. Biddle** (*British Civilian Agencies in the War*) is the only American administrator who had a chance to observe British civilian agencies in wartime. He was sent to Great Britain by the American Public Welfare Association and carried with him also requests for information from the War Department and from other federal agencies dealing with war preparation. Mr. Biddle's experience includes not only years in public administration in the United States but a knowledge of the British scene gleaned from World War I when he was an airman with the R.A.F.

A TYPEWRITER and a social conscience are the tools with which **Zilpha Carruthers Franklin** (*Impact of National Defense on Family Life*) has tackled life ever since her University of Colorado undergraduate days. After study at the London School of Economics and an M.A. from Columbia in American social history, Mrs. Franklin turned to newspaper work, then to eight years as editor of *Child Study*. Beginning in 1936 she was with the information service of the Social Security Board; since April of last year she has served as chief information officer of the federal Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services.

A FORMIDABLE list of professorships, chairmanships, research directorships, and commissionerships, in centers scattered from New York to the state of Washington, constitute the passport of **Alonzo G. Grace** (*Developing Responsible Citizens*) in the educational world. To mention a few items in the list—Dr. Grace has been commissioner of education in Connecticut since 1938. Before that he was professor of education at the University of Rochester. It was he who directed the survey of the educational system of the state of Washington in 1937-38, and was in charge of many of the studies of the New York Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Education.

WITHOUT the name of **W. Brooke Graves** (*Writing a New Constitution*) the bibliography of state government would be sorely impoverished. Thirty-three magazine articles and one-fourth as many books have come from his typewriter since he received his master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1923. For the same length of time he has been a teacher of political science at Temple University, where he now holds a professorship. Extra-curricularly Professor Graves is chairman of the Committee on State Government of the National Municipal League and was one of those responsible for the recent revision of that organization's *Model State Constitution.*

SIMEON E. LELAND (*Wanted: More Equity in Tax Division*) is both a professor of public finance and a practicing banker. Recently appointed Class C director of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago and deputy chairman of the board, the acting chairman of the University of Chicago's Department of Economics has served off the campus also as a member of the Illinois Tax Commission, as member of the board of the University State Bank of Chicago, as special assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury, and as consultant to the National Resources Board. He is the author of notable books and articles on government finance and taxation.

On the Local Front

Public Health Service in defense and war; state nutrition committee chairmen hold conference to report on state efforts and lay coordination plans.

Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services
Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director

ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor

THE United States Public Health Service is concerned with the conservation and strengthening of the nation's man power. Important in peace, an aggressive public health program is an urgent necessity in war. In the past year the Service has directed its health defense efforts toward seven major objectives: safeguarding the health of industrial workers, improving sanitation and health services in military and industrial areas, controlling venereal disease, developing emergency medical services for civilian defense, training additional nurses and other professional personnel, appraising community needs for health and sanitary facilities, and intensifying research in problems of wartime importance.

Federal, State, and Local Cooperation

The existing pattern of federal-state coöperation through grants-in-aid and technical assistance has been of the utmost value in meeting acute needs promptly and efficiently in critical defense areas.

The emergency health and sanitation appropriation made by Congress has made it possible to augment state and local personnel and facilities for meeting the health problems created by the national emergency.

Five hundred new federal public health workers have been sent into the field to strengthen existing state and local health services, or to establish new services in 150 critical defense areas. Although more workers are being recruited and trained as rapidly as possible, only half the 300 areas needing assistance have been supplied with added personnel.

In the past year, 300,000 acres of land have been drained or treated for control of the malaria mosquito, thus protecting 700,000 civilians as well as nearby military populations.

For the first time in the history of military medicine, a blood test for syphilis is being given to army candidates under the Selective Service Act. This has already resulted in the most extensive case-finding program ever undertaken. Approximately 50,000 of the first million selectees tested were rejected because of syphilis.

The nation's 3,245 venereal disease clinics have given more than eleven million treatments to an average monthly load of 411,000 patients. Laboratories have performed some eighteen million serologic tests; case work has been carried on by 7,800 full- and part-time workers. The venereal disease control program must be further expanded by at least two-thirds the present accomplishment to safeguard our soldiers, sailors, and industrial workers, as well as the general population. Facilities for the treatment of men rejected for military duty because of veneral infection must also be expanded.

Industrial Health Safeguards

Recommendations for the improvement of working conditions and control of work hazards in industries have

been made and put into effect. Cooperating with the U. S. Army, the Public Health Service has completed surveying 30 large government munitions and airplane plants, arsenals, and other military establishments, employing 100,000 civilian workers in addition to army personnel. Fifty more plants owned by the government but operated by private management are under survey today. Forty-two state and local industrial hygiene units are performing similar work throughout the country under the technical guidance of the Public Health Service in civilian plants producing war materials. Approximately 7,500 plants employing more than two million workers have come under such supervision since July 1940.

Research has been redirected toward problems directly related to war needs. To keep pace with the introduction of new, and often hazardous, substances in war industry, the Public Health Service continues its vital laboratory and field research on the causes and control of occupational diseases and accidents. A new laboratory is being built to expand research in aviation medicine. Laboratories engaged in collecting human blood serum and drying it for use with the wounded have been inspected and approved. Special research units are seeking new chemical substances to replace opium and quinine, which come from the war zone.

Emergency Services

Physicians of the Public Health Service, assigned to the Office of Civilian Defense, have developed a program of Emergency Medical Service for care of the injured among civilians subjected to enemy attack. Service engineers have set up precautions against sabotage or destruction of water supplies and sewerage systems.

The training program for nurses, authorized by Congress, has brought 2,000 additional student nurses into training this fall; 3,500 graduates are receiving post-graduate or refresher courses. The estimated need was for 50,000 nurses before the declaration of war; that estimate must be revised upwards immediately and the need must be met.

Defense Against Epidemics

Under pressure to clear without delay for transportation of war supplies, ships from foreign ports often arrive unannounced. Numbers of them may come in at once—including many with poor sanitary provisions. More adequate detention facilities are needed to hold passengers from such ships for observation. Personnel should be increased to inspect ships adequately and fumigate them without delay. Expansion of air services to South America and to Africa increase the health hazards of yellow fever and other tropical diseases to the United States.

During 1941 not one case of quarantinable disease entered the United States. Foreign quarantine continues to hold the first line of defense against plague, cholera, yellow fever, typhoid fever, and typhus.

War Pressures

The declaration of war has not materially altered the objectives of the Public Health Service, but has served to accentuate such problems as rehabilitation of every man rejected under selective service because of a correctible or remediable physical defect, aggressive action in dealing with the problem of commercialized prostitution around defense areas, and provision of adequate hospitals and sanitary facilities in defense areas.

More military camps and naval bases will create more health problems in more civilian areas. The problem of industrial disability will be intensified

by the employment of more older men, women, and youths, by the speed-up to meet production schedules, and by overcrowding in existing plants until new construction is completed.

The threat of enemy attack finds practically the entire country in need of further preparation to meet possible mass dislocations of population and disorganization of health and medical services which might be occasioned by disaster. Care of the homeless and injured and control of epidemics among refugees must be provided for without delay.

These problems concern each state and municipality in the nation. Full protection of this sector of the local front demands all the re-enforcements the nation and its communities can muster.

Conference of State Nutrition Committee Chairmen

Nutritional highlight of the past month was the Conference of State Nutrition Committee Chairmen held at the Hotel Stevens, Chicago, Illinois, January 9 and 10. Chairman of the conference was M. L. Wilson, Assistant Director in Charge of Nutrition, Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, who called the meeting of state leaders for the purpose of projecting mutual objectives in 1942 and coördinating the efforts of the 48 states and the District of Columbia.

In his opening address Mr. Wilson told of the progress of the national nutrition program to date, and surveyed future plans with an eye on wartime developments. He cautioned the state chairmen that, in such times, it will hardly be possible to lay down an absolute program, but that in many cases action may have to be taken during the coming year on a step-by-step basis. He made specific suggestions, however, on the matter of general policies to follow, and how to tackle basic issues.

Following Mr. Wilson's talk, brief reports on the state programs were made by the state nutrition chairmen, telling of the most important things that were being done and the principal problems which were being encountered. Below are some of the highlights of the state reports:

Tennessee: The State Department of Health and the state university are coöperating in educating elementary school teachers on the subject of nutrition. Special courses have been set up for them, which they may take for credit or merely "audit." Kits are also being prepared for teachers' guidance in adapting nutrition material for schoolroom use.

Michigan: Summer school courses in the six state institutions are being planned. Colleges and schools are being asked to work on low-cost menus and help put them over.

Nevada: A state poster contest is being sponsored in the public schools. This is proving one effective way of reaching parents as well as children.

Maryland: Six nutrition institutes are now training home economists. The dental school is opening a course on nutrition.

North Carolina: For the past two years practice demonstrations of what to eat and how much it costs have been in progress. Children taking part in these demonstrations gained from two and one-half to seven pounds each on a balanced diet costing nineteen cents per day.

South Carolina: At a Negro college proper food-farming is being taught. As a demonstration a small mill has been used to grind home-grown wheat into flour. Practical problems such as production and processing are stressed.

Vermont: College students specializing in nutrition are responsible for pre-

paring a weekly article on nutrition, which the state committee furnishes to all state newspapers.

Connecticut: Nutrition committee members have been on the radio every day since the first of May in coöperation with the Bureau of Markets. Since the first of November they have also participated in the Connecticut Farm Forum broadcast.

Washington: A nutrition leaflet has been published for the Girl Scouts. All public school children are given score cards so that they may see how adequate their diet is.

Wisconsin: Nutrition centers are being set up at which not only the proper foods are discussed but food storage, food preparation, labelling of canned goods, and even the medical aspects of nutritive foods are taken up.

Delaware: Nutritionists are planning a radio market news report to go on the air regularly. One canning center has been set up, with others to follow.

Louisiana: Every grocer and baker in the state has been interviewed and urged to bake and sell vitamin-enriched bread.

Arkansas: People are being educated to use surplus commodities—rice, sorghum, and alfalfa meal are being introduced as an addition to, not a substitute for, meat, eggs, etc.

Mississippi: A food guide and other nutrition leaflets have been published and distributed. College presidents, county superintendents of education, county health officers are all aiding the drive for better food.

Oregon: A subcommittee on hotel and restaurant organization met with the state hotel men; they are cooperating effectively — featuring enriched breads and so indicating them on their menus, stressing the other protective foods as well, and cooking their vegetables so that the nutrients are retained.

Kansas: Food posters have been placed in every doctor's office, schoolroom, railroad station, and county welfare office.

South Dakota: Nutrition courses of ten lessons each have been organized and given in many counties; garden lessons are also given.

Wyoming: The Mexican population, working only in the summer, has had very little to eat in the winter. The nutrition committee has taught them how to can the food they grow themselves: the Mexicans say this is the first winter they have had anything like enough to eat.

Georgia: Librarians have been made members of the State Nutrition Committee: they are developing nutritional information shelves.

Utah: Publicity pamphlets are a cooperative venture: members of the Nutrition Council write the text, WPA artists make the covers, secretaries employed by WPA assemble them.

North Dakota: The State Committee on Family Living is a subcommittee of the State Nutrition Council. Each county council has a family living chairman instead of a nutrition chairman, who covers nutrition as well as family living, and prepares and revises food budgets.

Minnesota: The homemakers section of the home economics program in Minneapolis covers the state by radio. An in-service training program is being developed.

California: County councils have now embarked upon placing a representative in each of the air-raid areas. The job of this person is to take care of the food problems of the people in case of bombings. At all times this representative acts as the local educational service contact for the committee. Two research projects are under way: one is being carried out under the direction of the doctor at a large aircraft company; the other covers the

school children of Santa Barbara County.

Pennsylvania: A state outline called *Nutrition and National Fitness* is being printed and distributed.

Arizona: The Nutrition Committee is giving much time and thought to problems of mass feeding in order to be prepared for possible evacuees from California.

New Mexico: Half the population is Spanish-speaking, and it is these people nutrition committees are seeking especially to reach. Nutrition students from State College are helping by going into these communities and giving courses to the women in Spanish. The Extension Service is also adding a number of Spanish-speaking home demonstration agents who have put on a vigorous home food campaign.

New Jersey: Milk consumption has increased more than 100 per cent because of the Nutrition Committee "2 for 5¢" campaign.

Nebraska: The Nutrition Committee has built up a home economics exhibit for teachers. It has also furnished teachers with materials to be used for community and class talks. Typing and penmanship classes, instead of writing staid old practice sentences, practice on "Eat the right food and make America strong," etc.

Kentucky: Large community meetings stressing the milk program are held for parents. One result has been that milk distributors in the state are now sending out to their customers information on the benefits and uses of milk.

Iowa: The Extension Service has assigned all its people to giving nutritional lessons. Counties have all been organized, and are doing excellent work. Local committees in those counties are really getting to the people.

New York: The Governor, who is the defense coördinator, has allotted enough money to nutrition committees to take care of postage and mimeographing. The Department of Health furnishes secretarial help and publicity services. The Defense Council is giving money to some of the county divisions.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND FAMILY LIFE

(Continued from Page 87)

more good will and more human kindness. We are beginning to apply the good neighbor policy here at home, and in so far as this becomes a permanent part of American life, I think we must all agree that it will be clear gain.

Certainly we are rediscovering that the responsibility of being an American citizen cannot be delegated. What has happened to families in the nations that have discarded democracy has shocked us out of our complacency. The efficiency of dictators sets store by youth to a degree that should give us pause. The methods of dictators—the regimentation of school and play, the abasement of family loyalties—sets a pattern which we will oppose with all the physical strength and spiritual conviction that we command.

The life that Americans have made for themselves and their families is far from perfect. But there is this about it and about us. We are still free to acknowledge its imperfections and to work together for its improvement. That is the job American families are up against today.

Editor's Note.—Address before the Forty-seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, November 18, 1941.

The Researcher's Digest: February

Cost of living and public salaries; a Georgia reference work; Texas assessors' manual; tort liability in Virginia; public personnel in New Hampshire; seven papers on budgeting.

HIGH cost of living, sometimes known as HCL and a familiar of all wars, is of interest now not only to a Henderson, but also to the man in the street and to the man in the city hall. It takes this month's research bureau spotlight, with no less than five bulletins devoted to the problem of what to do about public employees' salaries.

Consensus of opinion appears to be that the cost of living is rising, but that it has not nearly approached 1929 levels. The St. Paul plan, whereby salaries are automatically adjusted in accordance with the current cost of living index, comes in for a great deal of favorable discussion.

The **Boston Municipal Research Bureau** presents the most comprehensive discussion of the problem in its December *Memorandum on Wage Policy and Cost of Living*. Though it leads off with a section on wage policy in Boston, the study deals chiefly with matters of general interest—factors of wage policy, methods of salary adjustment, recent action on wage policy by large cities, and wage policy and personnel classification.

Other bureaus with recent bulletins on wages and cost of living are the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** (December bulletin); **Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State** (December 12 issue); and **Governmental Research Institute of Hartford** (*Taxpayers Business*, December 6). The **Civic Research Institute of Kansas City, Missouri**, has a 14-page study on *Teacher Salaries* alone (January 1942) which also sees merit in automatic periodic adjustment of salaries to reflect changes in cost of living.

Georgia from Top to Bottom

The kind of reference work which most states unaccountably lack is *Municipal Government and Administration in Georgia* by Lloyd B. Raisty. A joint research enterprise of the TVA and the **University of Georgia Institute for the Study of Georgia Problems**, the project was begun in 1938 and the result is an exhaustive work covering the history and legal aspects of municipal government in Georgia, intergovernmental relations treated along functional lines, administrative organization, personnel and financial administration, public works and utilities. Sixty-one tables bulwark the book, and there is a detailed index as well.

Two Basic Works

Also on the monumental side are a *Manual for Texas Assessors* by Aldro Jenks, published by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas** in coöperation with the State Board of Vocational Education, and *Municipal Tort Liability in Virginia* by George A. Warp, published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Virginia.** The former was preceded by bureau studies of assessing problems throughout Texas which revealed the need for the manual. The latter constitutes the first attempt to consider on a statewide scale the legal and administrative aspects of municipal tort liability in Virginia.

Conventions and What Comes After

There are at least three schools of

thought on the subject of the preservation for posterity of the proceedings of conventions. One coterie, not to be recognized in respectable society, holds for the omission of all published after-the-fact records, on the ground that the only important sessions take place in highly informal surroundings where stenographers are not present, at least in their official capacity. A second, majority, group advocates the strain-out-the-nuggets system, whereby the best speeches would be published with all the irrelevant anecdotes and personal pronouns deleted—on the theory that warmed-over humor and second-hand geniality are more apt to be embarrassing than entertaining. Adherents of the third confession, generous to the stay-at-homes, reduce editing "to the barest minimum in order to retain the spirit of the sessions, including individual colloquialisms." This latter system does work, as evidenced by *Governmental Personnel in New Hampshire,* summary of the proceedings of the fourth **Institute of Public Affairs of the University of New Hampshire,** edited by Thorsten V. Kalijarvi.

Personal pronouns are also retained, and without damage, in *Toward Better Budgeting,* seven papers presented at the 29th and 30th conferences of the **Governmental Research Association.** The experts who have their say are D. Benton Biser, Frank M. McLaury, F. D. Jones, Donald C. Stone, A. E. Buck, Grover William Ensley, and J. M. Leonard.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessing

Manual for Texas Assessors. By Aldro Jenks. Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas, in coöperation with the State Board of Vocational Education, Austin, 1941. 232 pp.

Budgeting

Toward Better Budgeting. By D. Benton Biser, etc. Seven papers presented at the 29th and 30th conferences of the Governmental Research Association. Detroit, 1941. 36 pp. mimeo.

County Finance

Income as an Index of the Fiscal Capacity of Michigan Counties. By Marvin A. Bacon. Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1941. viii, 78 pp.

Municipal Government

Municipal Government and Administration in Georgia. By Lloyd B. Raisty. University of Georgia Institute for the Study of Georgia Problems, Athens, 1941. xvi, 316 pp.

Municipal Law

Municipal Tort Liability in Virginia. By George A. Warp. Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Virginia, 1941. 127 pp.

Personnel

Governmental Personnel in New Hampshire. Summary of the Proceedings of the Fourth Institute of Public Affairs. Edited by Thorsten V. Kalijarvi. University of New Hampshire, Durham, 1941. 55 pp.

Purchasing

Purchasing Organization and Procedures in Jackson County. Kansas City (Missouri) Civic Research Institute, November, 1941. 15 pp. mimeo.

Salaries

About Detroit City Salaries. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just a Minute,* December 15, 1941. 2 pp.

About Perspective on City Salaries and Wages. Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, *Just a Minute,* January 5, 1942. 2 pp.

Cost of Living Increased But Still

Below "Normal." Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State, *Bulletin*, December 12, 1941. 2 pp.

How Much Have Living Costs Increased? Hartford (Connecticut) Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers Business*, December 6, 1941. 4 pp.

Memorandum on Wage Policy and Cost of Living. Boston Municipal Research Bureau, 1941. 22 pp. mimeo.

Salaries and Cost of Living. Providence Governmental Research Bureau, Bulletin, December 1941. 1 p.

Teacher Salaries. Kansas City (Missouri) Civic Research Institute, January 1942. 14 pp. mimeo.

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 72)

to take the point of view of those who hold this opinion (whether or not they are conscious of its implications), we should have to say that, immediately upon the nation's becoming involved in such a struggle as this war, it is not only necessary but desirable that all civic work be immediately stopped. I recently received a letter from a man who has achieved a national reputation for effective community service in which he said, "No amount of municipal reform will avail us if we lose the war." But we are convinced that the winning of the war will avail us nothing if we come out of it with a fundamental impairment of those social values for which our state stands, and which alone give validity to our position in the struggle.

There is a fable of a man who fought for the preservation of a great treasure, but who became so engrossed in the struggle that he stooped to ignoble methods and so made himself unworthy of that which he guarded. When victory came he opened the strong box in which his treasure lay only to find that it had turned to ashes.

Let us admit that, because of the regard in which the warrior has been held since the beginning of man's life, they who take a direct part in the struggle work in the full blaze of sunlight, while those who serve less obvious needs of the state work in the shadow. This must be accepted. It is a difficult thing to deny the claims of service directly connected with the conduct of the war, and to this many of us can testify. But, as I conceive it, there must be men who are willing to deny themselves the satisfaction of directly contributing to the aims of the war, in order more effectively to render that service which they know themselves best able to perform. Some of us must remain in civic activities in order that the values which are conserved by those activities may be saved to the nation in the days of victory. . . .

If we once grant that civic work is more or less of a luxury, to be undertaken by men who have nothing better to do, then we are engaged in an unworthy task, whether in war or in peace, and our work should stop. But if we believe we are serving the essential needs of the state, strengthening the foundations for a more truly democratic society and buttressing the walls for a finer community life, then our work must go on—in some way and with some instruments. Our treasure must be preserved intact, so that the great struggle shall not prove bootless.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor of the
National Municipal Review:

The editorial entitled "Philadelphia Is No Defense Boom Town," which appeared in the November issue of the National Municipal Review, is, we feel, an undeserved slap at Philadelphia.

This city has done more to place its financial house in order during the past few years than any city of which we have knowledge. One of the very necessary steps to achieve this end was to secure an additional source of income which was found in the so-called payroll tax. We are sure you realize that it is difficult for Philadelphia to continue to rely almost exclusively upon the real estate tax when its assessed valuation has fallen to two-thirds of what it was ten years ago.

We are not sure you realize that current expenditures in Philadelphia, exclusive of debt service, were $14,000,000 less in 1941 than they were in 1931. They have been reduced from $61,000,000 to $47,000,000. The city has pulled in its belt, balanced its budget, and will have a sizable current surplus at the end of this year. The present generation is suffering from an overdose of spending in the past and not only is supporting its current expenditures but is bearing the service cost of past mistakes.

It was unfortunate that the city's annual income from the city-owned gas works had to be mortgaged for a period of years in order to wipe out an accumulated current deficit, but there seemed to be no other effective way of cleaning off this deficit. Since it was eliminated, the payroll tax, coupled with the real estate tax, has provided an adequate source of income.

As you undoubtedly know, many other cities have looked to the experience of Philadelphia with the payroll tax with much interest and only this past week our office had requests from two other cities for detailed information concerning the tax. We doubt if you are justified in saying that it is a "desperate expedient."

The substance of the editorial you wrote, however, was not about the payroll tax, but about the fact that Philadelphia was not a defense boom town and should not endeavor to tap federal funds to assist it in putting its water and sewer systems in shape.

Philadelphia authorized sufficient revenue bonds a year ago to put its water system in shape and work was going on rapidly in that direction when it was slowed down by the priority situation. The sewer system needs approximately $50,000,000 spent on it. Two efforts have been made within the past year to find a legal way to borrow sufficient funds to do this work. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania turned down both suggested methods. Again, priorities make this work virtually impossible at the moment.

It was not until the President of the United States suggested that federal funds might be available for this purpose that the city this year made application for these federal funds. The idea did not originate in Philadelphia but in Washington. Philadelphia should not be criticized for following up the suggestion of the President of the United States that federal funds might be available to construct a sewage disposal system for Philadelphia.

This is particularly true because Philadelphia has only received a small proportion of its per capita share of federal funds for construction projects over recent years. Because of the antipathy that existed in this community

to asking for federal funds when the PWA was in its prime, Philadelphia delayed making application for any of those funds until past the time when they were available. The city government was roundly criticized for this delay both inside and outside the community. To criticize it again for asking for federal funds, when the President suggested that they might be available for a specific purpose, seems rather harsh on the city.

In view of all these circumstances, do you not feel that you are the one who has been unfair when you say, "It is patently unfair to say, in effect, to the hundreds of cities which have been through the arduous process of putting their own houses in order—and footing the bill themselves—'Philadelphians haven't the courage to do this for themselves, so now you'll have to bail them out'"?

R. H. LANSBURGH, *Director*
Philadelphia Committee
Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc.

To the Editor of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW:

As the belief in highway zoning grows in the public mind the billboard industry becomes increasingly alarmed. True, the highway zoning which would affect its business is but one item in the broad program of county or state zoning, but it is an important item and one that is coming into demand. Endorsed by the American Automobile Association, the National Real Estate Board, state planning boards and highway departments, highway zoning is today the most serious threat faced by the billboard industry.

To meet this threat the industry is using its so-called "coöperative" movement. In his "Letter to the Editor," appearing in the September issue of the REVIEW, the president of the Outdoor Advertising Association of America referred to the "coöperative" movement as one which "shows promise of success," citing the Pennsylvania Cooperative Committee for Roadside Improvement as an outstanding example. The Pennsylvania situation is well worth investigating.

In 1940, owing to the active campaign of the Pennsylvania Roadside Council, thousands of protests against rural billboards were going directly to advertisers. The council was also backing a bill for state highway zoning.

The billboard men had to do something to quiet this agitation so alarming to their clients, and to ward off legislation. So they persuaded the State Secretary of Commerce to sponsor a "coöperative" movement. Twenty-two "scenic areas" were selected, totaling two hundred highway miles (one half of one per cent of the state highway system), from which it was agreed all advertising should be removed.

Eighteen months have elapsed, yet no noticeable cleanup has anywhere been effected. On only one of the twenty-two areas has the demonstration really started. There, when the billboard industry had removed its eight large billboards, the real challenge—the weak spot in the whole "cooperative" method—became apparent. There still remained the many "independent" signs owned mostly by hotels, garages, and other local business. Who was to remove these? The industry had no control over these signs and refused the job. Local civic committees, they said, must handle this, admittedly the hardest part of the whole project.

But the local committee found that some independent owners refused to cooperate. At least 10 per cent of these signs would remain. This at once doomed the project to ultimate failure.

When Smith retains his signs his competitor, Jones, in self-defense must do the same. As local agitation inevitably slows down the signs will reappear and the last condition of the highway is often worse than the first.

This is the history of all such "cooperative" projects. Only a law binding all alike can hold the gains won by public opinion.

The Pennsylvania Secretary of Commerce has already stated his dissatisfaction with the result of the Pennsylvania experiment, and has publicly declared that his department will no longer bear the expense involved; that unless the roadsides throughout the state are cleaned up within a reasonable time his department will recommend control legislation.

Yet the billboard men are everywhere boasting of the "success" of the Pennsylvania movement. And for them it has indeed been a success. They have won the definite gains they sought. They have quieted the advertisers alarmed by protest letters. And, so far, they have defeated the zoning bill. To the advertisers they could say, "Renew your contracts. All is now harmonious. We are coöperating with the protesting women." And to the legislators: "Why pass a drastic untried law? Wait two years and see what we will do by coöperation."

Building on their so-called "success" in Pennsylvania the Outdoor Advertising Association seeks to start "cooperation" in Fulton County, Georgia, where county zoning is in effect; in Chattanooga, Tennessee, where agitation has started to clean up the atrocious south approach; in Knox County, Tennessee, where the new zoning ordinance allows billboards only in the business areas and requires all existing boards in residential and agricultural areas to move out within two years. This ordinance was not two weeks old when the billboard agents appeared to urge a "coöperative" project. The industry would remove at once some of the non-conforming boards, they said, if they were given locations in the forbidden agricultural areas, which they insist must be open for their use even though closed to business in general.

Of the many "coöperative" projects within the past twenty years, none have had any noticeably beneficial effect on the landscape. All have paid substantial dividends to the billboard industry. "Coöperation" is always limited in area and offers protection against advertising signs only; no protection against roadside slums, juke joints or junkyards, which may develop anywhere within the scenic areas.

Highway zoning would segregate all forms of roadside business in appropriate areas, and would protect the safety, appearance, and property values along all rural roads.

Elizabeth B. Lawton, *Chairman*
National Roadside Council

News in Review

City, State, and Nation
Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Plans for Post-War Adjustments

Public and Private Agencies Look to Peacetime Needs

DESPITE intense and urgent concentration on war needs, national leaders are not losing sight of the necessity for planning now to meet the tremendous problems of employment and of a general adjustment of the national economy that will arise whenever the war ends.

The National Resources Planning Board has been especially prominent in the effort to anticipate these problems. In its second annual report to Congress on January 14 it outlined major objectives in "planning to win the peace," as stated by President Roosevelt in transmitting the report. He said that at his direction the board is correlating plans and programs under consideration by many federal, state, and private organizations for full employment, security, and nation-wide development after the war.

The report pointed out that our greatest resource is men at work, and that at the war's end the nation's productive capacity should be greater than ever and more of its people trained in skilled and semi-skilled occupations, while shortages in many kinds of public works, housing, durable consumers' goods and equipment for their increased production will call for men, materials, and both public and private capital.

On January 28 the board released a pamphlet entitled *After the War—Full Employment,* by Dr. Alvin H. Hansen, Littauer Professor of Economics at Harvard University; this emphasized that no post-war depression need occur, and that if purchasing is maintained at a high level private enterprisers will have a great market to supply. For that future period it proposed progressive taxation policies with sharp reduction of consumption taxes, plans for private investment projects, a program of public improvements, expansion of public welfare expenditures, and international collaboration to promote effective world-wide use of productive resources. Safeguards against a runaway boom were also suggested.

Addressing the 89th annual meeting of the American Society of Civil Engineers on January 21 A. D. Morrell, national director of the Public Work Reserve, established last summer within the Federal Works Agency, told of the long-range public works program being prepared by his organization, to be held ready for the day it is needed. A procedure and form of assistance is also being established to encourage local governments to plan an orderly and well considered schedule of such work as they may be able to undertake within budgetary limitations.

States and cities are closely restricting their capital expenditure plans for the current year, thus adding to the reservoir of projects for post-war execution and leaving present energies, facilities, and public and private funds available for the immediate war effort. Governor Lehman of New York, in his budget message of January 26, proposed a complete embargo on all non-defense construction from bond moneys; present authorizations and appropriations of more than one-third of a billion dollars in that state would thus be deferred.

Large-scale replanning and rebuilding of American cities in the post-war period, with government and private enterprise working together, are the objectives of a far-reaching program adopted by the Urban Land Institute

at its recent annual meeting in Chicago. Its proposals include the establishment of a federal urban land commission, to be provided with funds and powers to make grants to local planning agencies for the purpose of preparing master plans for metropolitan areas and replanning blighted areas, and to extend credits to local land commissions for the purpose of acquiring land in blighted areas, by condemnation if necessary, for redevelopment by private enterprise; taxation of redeveloped areas on the basis of assessed values related to income-producing power and utility of the property; and the creation of a national laboratory to conduct research and study for the development of new building materials, housing design, construction methods, housing standards, the marketing and financing of dwellings, and building regulations to reduce the cost of dwelling construction. This national laboratory should be a part, or a subsidiary, of the federal urban land commission.

War and Defense Dominate State Legislative Sessions

Civilian defense measures and appropriations to pay for them are foremost on the agenda for the eight state legislatures holding regular sessions this year, according to the Council of State Governments. Other questions include legislative reapportionment, increased financial aid to schools, and state reorganization.

Seven legislatures convened for 1942 sessions last month—Kentucky, Mississippi, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, South Carolina, and Virginia. Louisiana, the eighth state with a regular session this year, is scheduled to convene May 11. California, Illinois, Maine, and Michigan have held or are holding special sessions.

Although all the states face requests for large appropriations for defense and other uses, and a probable decline in certain tax revenues, several have substantial surpluses from current revenues due, at least in part, to the defense boom. In Virginia the legislature must deal with an unobligated amount of more than $12,000,000 in the general fund.

War emergency legislation covering air raid precautions, fire defense, military traffic control, health and sanitation, and acceptance of federal grants by the states, prepared by representatives of the states with the aid of the Council of State Governments, is ready for consideration where needed. Five other uniform defense bills relating to transfer of state guards across state boundaries, sabotage, control of explosives, and other matters, which were adopted by many legislatures in 1941, also may be utilized further.

Of the non-defense measures, legislative reapportionment is up in Kentucky, New York, and Virginia, though Kentucky may at the suggestion of the governor postpone this subject for a later special session.

The Virginia legislature has been called on to consider a report on reorganizing the state government, and recommendations by the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council on jails, probation and parole, personnel administration, retirement of state employees and school teachers, and child welfare.

Before California recessed its December 1941 special session to January 12 it approved an act permitting cities and counties to revise their budgets to meet war defense emergencies. Further topics include workmen's compensation for civilian defense workers and direct aid to cities to meet defense needs.

The Illinois special session has approved a $5,000,000 appropriation for the state reserve militia and $750,000 for the state council of defense, and adopted a rural health defense bill au-

thorizing the state health department to establish boards of health and prescribe their duties.

Civil Service Methods Improved for Defense Needs

New or improved procedures and intensification of activities, as federal, state, and local governments have made adjustments to meet defense and war demands, characterized public personnel administration during the last year, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

More extensive advertising for positions, lengthening of the application period, and relaxing of non-essential qualification requirements have been adopted by many personnel agencies to recruit and maintain qualified personnel. Resident requirements have been waived with increasing frequency and, in some instances, cities have undertaken a program of nation-wide examinations to fill both technical and non-technical positions.

A large number of state and local civil service agencies made their eligible registers and other facilities available to the United States Civil Service Commission during the last year for use in recruiting defense personnel. In addition the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel, begun in 1940 under joint administration of the federal commission and the National Resources Planning Board, has catalogued specifications of more than 150,000 people, and has certified more than 40,000 individuals to defense agencies.

So as to recruit qualified personnel as rapidly as possible, the federal commission reorganized its examining procedures and extended the practice of continuous examination for certain classes of positions. It advertised in nearly fifty college alumni journals. Its recruitment specialists go into the field in connection with various examination projects. Some two hundred commission representatives, other than members of the local examining and rating boards, are placed in various parts of the nation to work closely with field appointing officers of the government and to maintain contacts with the public.

The commission's principal examiners visit colleges from time to time in order to stimulate interest in government employment, and official representatives of the commission attend conventions of various organizations to present the latest information as to federal personnel needs.

Cooperative Highway Repair Plan in New York State

A mutual aid plan for highway repair and debris clearance, involving cooperation of state and local highway departments in New York, particularly in cases of emergency, has been approved and placed in operation by Governor Herbert H. Lehman. It was prepared by a committee of state and municipal engineers, created by the New York State Conference of Mayors and the State Department of Public Works.

The ten existing state highway districts, together with the city of New York, are made highway and debris clearance zones, each under a zone coördinator whose duties include the making of an inventory of highway and maintenance personnel, equipment, and supplies; determining their availability in each zone; distributing this information to the public works and highway officials, and devising a plan, in conjunction with all units of government in the zone, for use of the resources in an emergency.

Upon request to a zone coördinator

by any unit of government for personnel, equipment, or supplies he may provide the desired aid under the plan. Inter-zone requests are made of a state coördinator, appointed by the governor from the staff of the State Department of Public Works.

Legislation recommended for the purposes of the plan would empower municipalities and other governmental units to lend personnel, equipment and supplies to other units, the borrowing unit to pay salaries, wages, and necessary expenses and to be liable for workmen's compensation, damage to equipment, and cost of supplies.

State district highway forces and equipment are to be almost immediately available, together with local forces and facilities where an emergency arises. Resources of other local units comprise a reserve which, under the plan, could be utilized in an orderly and rapid manner, according to the extent and seriousness of the emergency.

Model Blackout Ordinances Prepared

The National Institute of Municipal Law Officers has prepared a blackout ordinance, approved by the Office of Civilian Defense; it delegates reasonable administrative powers to the proper executive officer and contemplates both actual air raid conditions and those of practice blackouts. Several state leagues of municipalities have also prepared model ordinances, including those of California, Virginia, and Wisconsin, and the Pennsylvania League of Third Class Cities.

The first city to enact a blackout ordinance was Seattle, Washington, early last year. Many others have done so more recently, the ordinances ranging in character from the type that delegates all authority to the mayor or city manager to those providing no delegation of power but outlining completely the rules for civilian conduct during blackouts. In some cases, at least, the city is declared not liable for damage to persons or property resulting from an authorized blackout.

Funds for Defense Housing and Community Facilities

On January 22 President Roosevelt signed legislation authorizing the expenditure of $450,000,000 for housing, school, health, and recreational facilities in communities affected by the war production program and in urgent need of additional facilities. Of this total, $300,000,000 is for housing of war workers, increasing to $600,000,000 the appropriations and authorizations for such housing. The remaining $150,000,000 brings the total for other community facilities to $300,000,000.

The addition to housing funds is expected to provide about 75,000 more dwelling units.

The act provides that the federal administrator shall pay from rentals annual sums in lieu of taxes to a state or political subdivision thereof, with due allowance for his expenditures for streets or utilities relating to the properties.

Washington Rent Control

Operation of the country's first legislative measure for definite rent control began last month in Washington, D. C. The act pegs rentals and sets minimum service standards at the January 1, 1941, level and provides various safeguards for tenants.

Council-Manager Plan News

The total number of cities and counties where the council manager plan was in effect at December 31, 1941, was 543, according to the International City Managers' Association. This was an increase of nineteen over December 31, 1940. During 1941 there

were eighteen adoptions of the plan—seventeen by popular vote and one, **Palm Springs, California**, by ordinance. The seventeen consisted of the cities of **Port Huron, Michigan; Wilmington, North Carolina;** and **Clifton Forge, Virginia** (where the plan does not take effect until September 1942); the villages of **Northfield, Poultney,** and **Windsor, Vermont;** and the New England towns of **Manchester and Northfield, Vermont,** and **Castle Hill, Corina, Danforth, Island Fall, Mars Hill, Mercer, Merrill, Patten** and **Sherman Mills, Maine.**

In **Cambridge, Massachusetts,** which adopted a manager charter in November 1940, the plan went into effect on January 1. Three cities began operating in 1941 under manager plans adopted in 1940.

No additions occurred in 1941 to the meager list of 28 municipalities that have voted to abandon the plan in its 33-year history. Referenda were held in five cities in 1941, but the plan was upheld in each instance.

The International City Managers' Association added to its list of approved council-manager municipalities—places with a manager plan that meets certain requirements as to scope and status—the names of seven municipalities operating under plans which, upon investigation, were shown to be adequate for listing. Two of these have manager charters—**Masardis, Maine,** and **Nacogdoches, Texas.** Five have managers by virtue of ordinances—**East Grand Rapids, Michigan; Fuquay Springs, North Carolina;** and **Ashland, Fox Chapel,** and **Harrison Township, Pennsylvania.**

Petitions have been circulated in the borough of **Westwood, New Jersey,** calling for a referendum on adoption of the manager plan. It is favored by adherents of a fusion movement which challenged the organization in power and succeeded in electing two councilmen. The dominant regime, however, over the Mayor's opposition, has displaced various officials who showed interest in the fusion movement.

In **Richmond, Virginia,** the Richmond First Club advocates the manager plan, with a nine-member council to be elected at large as the successor of the present large bicameral council. Many other local government reforms are urged by the club.

A newspaper poll sponsored by the **Newark, New Jersey,** Citizens Union resulted in an expression of preference for the manager plan by 10,644 out of 17,431 voters. The aldermanic form of city government was favored by 5,713, the commission form (now in effect in Newark) by 918, and the strong mayor form by 156. A Citizens Union meeting on January 19, with three hundred present, voted unanimously in support of a city manager movement.

Public Administration Fellowships

The University of Minnesota, in Minneapolis, offers until April 1 a limited number of in-service fellowships in public administration for the 1942-43 academic year, with stipends ranging from $1,000 to $1,500 for the year. They are for young men and women in the service of government, of graduate standing with at least three years experience in public service, who can obtain leaves of absence. The fellowships are under the university's Committee on Training for Public Administration.

The University of Denver announces ten competitive graduate fellowships in government management, under a grant from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. They carry maximum stipends of $1,800 for the eighteen-month training period if the holder is single, and $2,700 if married. Applications to the university Department of Government Management close March 10.

Citizen Action
Edited by Elwood N. Thompson

Louisville Citizens Attack Blight Problem

Rehabilitation Campaign Planned by Local Group

FORMATION of the Louisville Rehabilitation Council is the culmination of a series of steps on the part of the city and of private citizens to prevent the damage being done in many neighborhoods by blight and decay.

When we were contemplating a housing program in Louisville, the City of Louisville Municipal Housing Commission and the City Planning Division jointly sponsored a WPA project for a general housing survey. This survey brought out one rather astounding fact—that, measured by a fair definition, 39 per cent of the dwelling units in Louisville were more or less substandard. In some cases blight was just beginning to creep in, but certain districts were in a bad state of deterioration and still others were beyond hope.

In order to clear some of the worst of our slum areas and make our city housing-conscious, we adopted a slum clearance program designed to sweep clean one hundred acres of our worst slums and rebuild them with decent dwelling units. This program had three parts:

1. About three thousand units of United States Housing Authority-aided public housing for the lowest income group, who could not build or pay for it themselves, and for whom private capital was either unwilling or unable to build;
2. Encouragement of the building of low-cost FHA insured homes by private capital for that group just above the income limits eligible for USHA housing; and
3. The general rehabilitation of sound, old structures and the general rehabilitation of the entire city on a long-time plan.

After we had either built, or arranged to build, all of the public slum clearance housing we felt proper for a city of our size—and a very considerable number of houses were built by private capital—and after our city had become thoroughly housing-conscious, we frankly faced the problem of general decay and disintegration of city structures of all kinds, dwelling and commercial.

A group of prominent citizens, representative of the entire business and civic structure of Louisville, met in the Mayor's office to discuss what neighborhood blight and natural decay and disintegration were doing to large areas of property within the city limits, for the benefit of which the city had spent millions of dollars on streets and alleys, sidewalks, sewers, and water facilities. It was pointed out that the city tax structure was based on the reasonable assessed value of land and improvements, which were yearly becoming less and less able to bear the resulting taxation. We became aware of the threat to the adequacy of future city income without resorting to other methods of taxation, and as Mayor of the city, I requested this group to appoint a committee to consider what could be done about it.

This Committee, after several months of work and study, evolved and incorporated a non-profit association known as the **Louisville Rehabilitation Council**, and invited as members more than one hundred civic-minded citizens. These members all serve on various committees to assist the Board of Directors in carrying out its policies. The Board is composed of six members elected for terms of one, two, and three years by the Council and elects its own officers. Directors include a

prominent trust company executive representing a large life insurance lending agency, two outstanding building and loan executives, the president of the city's largest firm of general contractors, a leading realtor, the City Housing Administrator, and the Mayor, ex-officio.

City Departments Help

The city makes available the facilities of all of its departments. All services are voluntary except those of an executive manager and his office staff.

The annual budget is raised by private subscription from building and loan associations, financial institutions, public utilities, and large interests. The city and its municipally-owned water company are liberal contributors. Actual rehabilitation is financed by the property owners themselves with FHA insurance where loans are desired.

The objectives of this movement are: (1) To provide adequate protection for areas that are still new and in good condition; (2) rehabilitation of blighted districts; (3) reconstruction of areas beyond repair; (4) control of new land subdivision in Jefferson County; (5) modernization of the city building code; (6) protection and preservation of the downtown business district; (7) an air-tight ordinance that will effectively do away with smoke, dirt, and noise; (8) revision of the tax structure to encourage appropriate land use, including the agreement to refrain from increasing any assessments on property improved in collaboration with this movement for a period of five years; (9) a sound method of organizing various neighborhoods, and close coöperation with them as they organize for their protection and advancement.

Since Louisville is a vital defense area the immediate objective will be the encouragement of the rehabilitation of sound, single family homes capable of being converted into two or more units, thus coöperating with the United States Defense Coördinator in providing additional dwelling units for defense workers. This work is now under way.

It is recognized that the accomplishment of the other objectives of the movement will cover a long period of years. In fact, an organization of this type should be a permanent part of the city structure to meet changing conditions as they arise through the years.

The Louisville Rehabilitation Council has laid down a challenge to every Louisville citizen and civic body which, if accepted by them, can well develop into the greatest nonpartisan civic endeavor ever attempted by the citizens of Louisville, and one which, if successful, will serve as a guide to other municipalities similarly situated.

Joseph D. Scholtz
United States Office
of Civilian Defense
Louisville, Kentucky

Defense Council Functions in Unincorporated Area

There are doubtless many unincorporated areas, especially those located near large metropolitan centers, which can see no way in which to organize their civilian defense efforts so they will fit into the picture of state, county, city, and village defense councils, which generally develop from the impetus provided by a chief executive. The successful procedure followed in Oceanside, an unincorporated village of seven thousand population in Nassau County, New York, may provide a pattern which can be followed by others.

The local defense program is grounded upon existing community organizations and the basic governmental unit of the area, that is, the school district.

At the request of the county defense

council, an official of a local patriotic organization called the first public meeting of interested citizens in the high school auditorium. A permanent chairman was selected and nominations from the floor were made for temporary council members. One week later permanent appointments were made to six operating divisions set up within the council.

Schools and Civic Groups

Four operating officials came from civic associations. The chief of the volunteer fire department is head of the fire division. A member of the auxiliary of the community hospital acts as chief of the health and welfare division. A member of a trucking concern has charge of the public works and transportation division. A business man supervises the air raid precaution division.

The school system furnishes two operating heads. The superintendent of schools is in charge of the recreation and education division. The chairman of the social studies department of the high school serves as head of the administrative division. The permanent chairman acts as the liaison man between the local council and the county council.

Since there were no community records of population distribution and of local resources, the first task before the council was the dissemination of questionnaires to every home in the community. The head of the family was asked for information relative to the services he might contribute in an emergency. The administrative division handled the distribution through the volunteer efforts of high school students.

After the circulars were returned, an analytical breakdown was made by the high school commerce department. Divisions of the council use the statistics of the administrative division to train local citizens for the more efficient performance of their volunteer duties.

Local services generally performed by the incorporated unit are thus to be provided through the efforts of the local defense council. Community doctors are setting up a health program. The fire division is training emergency fire and police personnel. The water needs of the community are normally supplied by a private company. Emergency plans for furnishing essential utilities are being drawn up by the public works and transportation division.

Periodical public meetings are held in the high school. For further public information, the recreation and education division has prepared a panel of local speakers who appear at civic meetings to report on the progress of the council. Revenue for incidental expenses such as printing and postage is secured through contributions of civic associations. Coöperation has become the keynote of community activity.

The essence of democracy is community activity and community responsibility. Unless patterns for the organization of civilian protection in unincorporated communities are well developed, an important challenge to American self-government will have been overlooked.

WILLIAM G. TORPEY
Oceanside, New York, Defense Council

N. Y. Citizens Union Sets Legislative Goals

The **Citizens Union of New York City** has come forth with an ambitious state legislative program. It consists of 21 items which the organization considers worthy of special emphasis in the 1942 New York legislature.

In announcing the program the Union reiterates its belief that "it is important

not only to defend the democratic way of life but to continue to improve its operation so as to remove all possible causes of dissatisfaction with it."

Included in the program are the following:

1. All steps necessary to coöperate with the national government in the emergency and to insure the safety of the people of New York State.

2. Opposition to any attacks on the fundamental principles of the bill of rights and of American democracy.

3. A fair legislative and Congressional reapportionment on the basis of the 1940 census.

4. A constitutional amendment, carefully safeguarded against hasty action, to permit constitutional amendments by petition and popular vote, so that a widespread and sustained public demand may eventually prevail even in matters which the legislature finds politically embarrassing to propose.

5. A constitutional amendment to give the Court of Appeals power to remove or retire judges.

6. Measures to implement the county reform victory in New York City.

7. State fiscal improvements including: (a) payment of the state income tax in four equal installments; (b) removal of inequalities in the stock transfer tax; (c) a constitutional amendment to permit the setting aside of surplus tax revenues to retire state debt or as a stabilization reserve to make increased tax rates unnecessary in the expected post-war depression; and (d) establishment of a state capital budget.

8. Removal of mandatory expenditures imposed on New York City and not similarly imposed on other cities.

9. Abolition of the Transit Commission and transfer of its functions to the State Public Service Commission.

10. Reorganization of the New York City school system.

11. Election reforms including permanent registration and changes in petition procedure.

12. Amendment of the city home rule law to permit complete charter revisions as well as limited amendments to be put on the ballot by petition.

13. Compulsory periodic inspection of all motor vehicles by state inspection stations supported by small annual fees.

14. State licensing and control of outdoor advertising.

15. Maintenance of civil service standards against attempts: (a) to extend exemptions from competitive examinations; (b) to outlaw oral examinations or educational qualifications; (c) to remove probationary periods; or (d) to grant new preferences to veterans or other special groups.

16. Maintenance and improvement of housing standards.

17. State health insurance.

18. Strengthening of the Torrens law for public registration of land titles by creating a statewide insurance fund and amending the constitution to make certain that the state can put its full credit behind the Torrens system.

19. Improvements in legislative procedure including electrical voting in the legislature and compulsory reports from legislative committees, not necessarily favorable, on all bills requested by one-third of the members of the house.

20. Improvements in the administration of justice.

21. Scientific rent control law to go into effect wherever less than a specified percentage of vacancies is found in any class of houses and to cease applying when the vacancies increase a specified amount above that percentage.

R. M. W.

Roundup—

For an excellent job of adapting its program to wartime conditions, take a look at the new pamphlet of **Kiwanis International** entitled *Your Community in the War—a Guidebook of Home-front Activities.* Copies are available from the organization's headquarters.[1] The manual contains a large number of specific suggestions for local club activities under the following headings: citizenship, public affairs, agriculture, boys and girls work, vocational guidance, underprivileged child, support of churches, and business standards—and there is certain to be something suited to the interests and resources of almost any group. The pamphlet seems to us a well balanced combination of inspirational material and concrete advice.

One more study of the whys and wherefores of non-voting[2] has been made—this time by the **Saginaw (Michigan) League of Women Voters.** The League discovered that the odds are against the voters who live comfortably in a good residential district going to the polls unless a dramatic issue is involved.

The **Seattle Municipal League** has done another good job with its annual report for 1941. Attractive typographically, the report highlights the year's activities in a few succinct and well written paragraphs and presents a clear picture of the League's financial condition. A membership report and a complete roster of members are also included.

R. M. W.

[1]520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago. Schedule of prices: 1-24 copies, 10c each; 24-49 copies, 9c each; 50-99 copies, 8c each; 100 copies or more, 7c each.

[2]See also "Here Are the Answers to 'Why Voters Don't Vote.'" by Selwyn Pepper, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1941, p. 279; also report on survey made by Minneapolis Research Bureau in Citizen Action Roundup for last month, p. 42, last two paragraphs.

Taxation and Finance
Edited by Wade S. Smith

State and Local Debt Reported
Slight Decline Shown Over Last Fiscal Year

BETWEEN June 30, 1940, and June 30, 1941, the gross debt less sinking funds of state and local government in the United States declined 2/10 of 1 per cent, according to the preliminary report of the Division of State and Local Government of the Bureau of the Census.

State debt alone declined 3.9 per cent and county debt 6.4 per cent, while school district debt was down 8/10 of 1 per cent. City debt was practically stationary, showing a 1/10 of 1 per cent increase, township debt was up 1 per cent, and special district debt increased 8.6 per cent, largely as a result of new borrowing by local housing authorities.

State and local net debt (gross debt less sinking fund assets) was $18,149,534,000, at June 30, 1941, while gross debt (after deduction of state loans to local units) was $20,182,739,000. A year earlier the net debt had been $18,182,790,000. The tabulation below shows the net debt at the two dates:

Gross Debt Less Sinking Fund Assets
(Last 000 omitted)

	June 30, 1940	*June 30, 1941*
States	$2,949,231	$2,834,330
Counties	2,011,512	1,883,133
Cities	8,737,900	8,742,568
Townships	274,233	276,998
School Districts	1,705,237	1,691,385
Special Districts	2,504,677	2,721,120
Total	$18,182,790	$18,149,534

Including the federal debt computed in the same manner, total federal, state, and local net debt was $69,162,000,000 at June 30, 1941, as compared with

$63,196,000,000 a year earlier. The state and local debt fell during the year from 32 per cent of the total to 29.2 per cent.

While the figures above show in total little net change in the last year if the new borrowing by local housing authorities and by New York City for public service enterprises is excluded, state and local net debt decreased 1.6 per cent. The obligations of the former rose $216,000,000 during the year, while New York City added $93,000,000 for transit unification and water supply.

Mere mention of these two sizeable additions during the period emphasizes that the totals are to be used cautiously as an indication of the burden of debt on local taxpayers. Housing authority debt is of course subsidized, and receives some direct or indirect property tax support, but water debt and the debt of numerous other public service enterprises is invariably self-supporting from utility revenues and charges although it is included in the gross-less-sinking fund totals. Thus a sizeable portion of the included figure for cities, which accounts for very nearly half the total, is actually supported from revenues other than property taxes.

Unfortunately, figures on public service enterprise debt are not segregated in the preliminary report, although in its annual reports on cities of 100,000 population and over the Census Bureau now fully segregates these obligations. That the amount is large may be easily shown, however; for cities of 100,000 population and over gross debt less sinking funds at June 30, 1941, was $6,267,542,000. In 1938, the last year reported with utility debt segregated, the comparable figure was $6,951,059,000 of which $2,820,024,000 was the gross debt less sinking funds of public service enterprises.

Local Labor Costs Move Upward

Out of 384 cities replying to questionnaires sent out by the Municipal Finance Officers' Association, 247 took some action during 1941 to increase salaries or wages. The most common salary increases were 5 per cent and 10 per cent if stated on a percentage basis or $5 or $10 per month when stated in dollars. More common wage increases were between 5 per cent and 10 per cent and between 5 cents and 10 cents an hour.

The association in reporting its survey notes that the action appears consistent for all sizes of communities reporting. Some communities increased both salaries and wages and some increased only one or the other.

The general tendency was to give preference to those in the lower income brackets, and in many cases the increases were granted only to those receiving pay below stated levels. Communities close to defense industries or troop concentrations faced special problems in meeting private pay rates, particularly for mechanics and engineers.

Of the 247 cities reporting action on the subject, 133 granted general increases, 87 granted them to specially designated groups of employees, 22 granted miscellaneous and minor pay adjustments, and five restored rates of pay formerly cut. In the case of 118 cities the increases were granted for an indefinite period, in 29 they were limited to one year (either a period of one year or a specific fiscal year), in three they were for six months or less, and in 97 the period was not reported. Data were gathered to cover the situation about November 15, 1941, and it is likely that the number of cities showing higher rates has been considerably increased since then.

Census Bureau Studies State and Local Finance

State and local officials throughout the country are being asked to cooperate with federal agencies in supply-

ing information on various subjects. Requests for information are of particular importance at this time because of the problems created by the war and for post-war planning. The results of such inquiries will prove of importance to state and local officials as well as to the federal government.

Among the inquiries of this nature are several being made by the Division of State and Local Government of the Bureau of the Census. That agency is giving special attention to the compilation of information on state and local government finance for the formulation of fiscal and economic policies for the war program. Preliminary reports already have been issued on *State Tax Collections: 1941*[1] and *State and Local Government Debt: 1941*.[2] Final reports under these titles will release detailed figures within a short time.

One series of studies by the division is to supply current information for the special committee of the Treasury Department on intergovernmental fiscal relations.

Questionnaires are being sent to all states, large cities and counties, and to a representative sample of other cities and counties and special districts, requesting financial statistics for 1941 on general property tax levies and collections, assessed valuations on which these levies were made, and revenues from other sources, especially grants and public service enterprises.

Instead of asking state and local fiscal officers for data on expenditures for 1941, it is planned to obtain figures for the major functional groups from the records of the Social Security Board, the Office of Education, and the Public Roads Administration. The Office of Education is undertaking a special survey of its own to obtain the most recent data on school revenues and expenditures for states and local school districts.

Federal financing of the war and its impact on states and local governments makes most important the assembling of these types of information by a central agency such as the Bureau of the Census. In accordance with the Bureau's practice, copies of the reports resulting from these inquiries will be supplied to coöperating officials.

C. E. Rightor, *Chief Statistician*
Division of State and Local Government
Bureau of the Census

[1]See this department for November 1941, p. 661.
[2]See p. 121, this issue.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Federal Grants to County Personnel Agencies Proposed

War Needs Make Patronage, Inefficiency Intolerable

IN AN article published recently in the *Public Personnel Review*, Professor Leonard D. White proposes federal grants-in-aid to counties as well as to states and municipalities for the establishment and operation of public personnel agencies. He asserts that most counties operate according to the personnel principles and practices in existence before the Civil War. He suggests his plan be made wholly voluntary on the part of the coöperating units, but he hopes it will lead to a coördinated federal-state-local personnel program.

Professor White proposes grants of two types. First, there could be unconditional grants to cover those expenses resulting primarily from performing services for the federal government; second, there could be conditional grants based on federal approval of proposed plans embracing all aspects of local personnel adminis-

tration and probably embodying the matching principle on a 50-50 basis.

In defense of his proposal Professor White points out that the United States Civil Service Commission already has been authorized by recent executive order to use state and local civil service registers where proper consent can be obtained. He advocates the greatest degree of mobility of civil servants among the various levels of government rather than the present tendency by which the federal government merely drains the best personnel from state and local governments. Or if state and local governments may properly be regarded as reservoirs from which to recruit its employees, the federal government then has an obligation to itself to improve the personnel systems of the lower levels. Abolition of patronage systems locally would make the federal civil service system less vulnerable to attack from those Congressmen who have had no experience with the merit system at home.

Professor White believes his proposal to be opportune because the needs of war and defense make patronage and technical inadequacy even less tolerable than under normal circumstances, and furthermore, the national war effort is going to result in pressure for local retrenchment in which personnel agencies customarily are the first to suffer. The feasibility of the plan is demonstrated by comparable features in the social security program which similarly has required the coöperation of all levels of government.

Westchester County Resumes Study of Governing Board

Although voters of Westchester County, New York, recently rejected a proposed charter amendment that would have reduced the board of supervisors from 43 to eleven members, a citizens' committee, authorized by the Republican County Committee, is continuing its efforts to develop a more equitable distribution of votes in the county board. It seeks to eliminate at least such glaring inequities as that which gives the town of Poundridge, with a population of 778, as much voting strength on the county board as is given the town of Rye with a population of 40,126.

Since reduction of representation from the smaller towns is not possible under the existing law, the committee has recommended a plan of "weighted" voting. This plan would allow each city and town one vote with an additional vote for each 10,000 of population. Such a plan would not eliminate many of the evils that the proposed amendment attempted to destroy, but it would be much more equitable than the present system.

Townships in Chicago Area Act as Health Authorities

A sudden increase of population in small municipalities and unincorporated territory in the Chicago metropolitan area has brought with it urgent problems of public health and sanitary housing. In Cook and DuPage Counties these problems have been met by the adoption of rural zoning ordinances declaring that commercial buildings and residences requiring water supply and sewage disposal services shall provide those facilities in conformity with standards developed by the State Department of Public Health.

Five other counties in the Chicago area have not adopted rural zoning laws. For these counties the Chicago Regional Planning Association has proposed that health regulations be enforced by township health boards, on the ground that such regulation can be

established more quickly than county regulation can be achieved and that the Illinois township has more legal authority over sanitary conditions than is generally realized. At present two townships in the five unzoned counties have established such boards and a third has the matter under consideration.

LEON WEAVER

University of Illinois

Milwaukee County Park Maintenance Saves Money

Consolidation of the function of maintaining parks and parkways in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, has resulted in more economical administration, according to a report to the American Municipal Association. Since the plan consolidating the city and county systems was inaugurated four years ago, the taxpayers have paid an average of $145,000 less taxes per year for this service. The park system operated by the Milwaukee County Park Commission now contains 5,015 acres of land consisting of 61 parks and eight parkway units. The 1934 resolution inviting the seventeen towns, cities, and villages in the county to convey their local parks to the county has been accepted by seven of the units thus far.

Sheriff Fee System under Fire in Virginia

In response to a recommendation in the Governor's *Message on the State of the Commonwealth,* a bill was introduced recently in the Virginia Senate providing for the payment of salaries to county sheriffs and abolition of the fee system as a method of compensating such officers.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Cambridge Starts Well

P. R. Elections in Hamilton and Boulder

INDEPENDENT citizens of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who had been bitterly disappointed when the reform slate of the Plan E Committee failed by 30 votes to win a majority control of the council at the first P. R. election in November, have had an agreeable surprise.

Instead of dividing in the traditional way into opposing camps, all nine members of the council—four "Plan E" candidates, three official candidates of the Democratic organization, and two other Democrats—started at once to meet and plan together in the best coöperative spirit, which the P. R. plan is designed to promote. Such differences of opinion as developed were not on group lines and the decisions so far taken seem highly auspicious for the future welfare of the city.

Between the election and the inauguration of the new council on January 5, eight meetings of all the councillors-elect were held. One of the two Democrats who had not been on either ticket was chosen as secretary for the temporary unofficial work of preparation. There were no caucuses. One of the members writes: "The councillors-elect acted, I believe, to a man as individuals without any cliques being formed. To my mind the whole thing has been an example of real democracy at work."

Attention was focussed, of course, on the choice of the first Cambridge city manager. The model application form of the International City Managers' Association was adopted, out-of-town

applications were invited through the association's magazine and otherwise, and ten Cambridge organizations, including the Rotary Club, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Knights of Columbus, were asked to encourage the best qualified local men to apply. Thirteen applicants, eight from Cambridge and five from other cities, were interviewed by the entire council-elect.

When the council held its first official meeting, Colonel John B. Atkinson, a highly regarded local shoe manufacturer and merchant who had never been connected with partisan politics, was elected city manager on the first ballot. He received the votes of three Plan E councillors and three others. His beginning salary was set at $15,000 a year, $5,000 less than the maximum allowed and considerably less than his earnings in private business.

It took three ballots to choose the mayor, who will be the president of the council and the ceremonial head of the city, but on the third ballot eight of the nine votes were cast for John H. Corcoran, head of a local department store who had been elected on the Plan E ticket, and his election was then made unanimous. The councillors voted him a salary of $5,000, as the law permitted, instead of the regular councillor's salary of $4,000, but the additional $1,000 he promptly donated to the Cambridge United War Fund Drive.

After Mr. Corcoran's election as mayor, William M. Hogan, Jr., a member of the old council who had been elected on the regular Democratic ticket, was elected vice-mayor on the first ballot by six votes out of nine.

The new council cut down the number of council committees from 23 to 10. The important Committee on Finances consists of the whole council. Each councillor heads at least one committee. All the committees are planning to do active work, whereas formerly many of them were just a collection of names and much of the legislation was passed under suspension of the rules without any study in committee.

One of the city manager's first acts was to appoint as city solicitor John A. Daly, an able non-political lawyer who is a member of the State Judicial Council, a recent president of the local bar association, and son of one of the city's most respected mayors.

The manager's first big task is the preparation of the new government's first budget, which must be submitted to the council by February 15.

Hamilton's Eighth P. R. Election

The eighth use of P. R. for the election of the city council in Hamilton, Ohio, this fall appears to assure the continuance of the efficient nonpartisan government for which the city has become noted during fourteen years of non-political councils with a single city manager, Russell P. Price. Five of the seven councilmen were re-elected, another was a former councilman, and the seventh was a candidate of the Charter League group which has largely taken the lead in the good government regime.

Three of the successful candidates were candidates of the Charter League, three were candidates of a coalition backed by leaders of the local Democratic and Republican organizations, and the seventh was an independent labor man not on either ticket. On most questions all the councilmen have worked together without any division on group lines.

The new council, listed in order of election, is composed of former mayor Raymond H. Burke, Charter League, an insurance company representative in private business, who has served continuously on the council since the P. R.-manager charter went into effect;

John A. Schwalm, coalition, a theatre owner, who was first elected in 1935 as a charter group candidate; William Beckett, Charter League, treasurer of a paper company; Andrew Bruck, coalition, restaurant proprietor, a former councilman under P. R.; Mayor Leo J. Welsh, coalition, a railway clerk, who like Mr. Burke was elected for the eighth time; Howard F. Wilson, the new Charter League councilman, district manager of a national finance company; and Joseph H. Toerner, independent, a machinist.

The only councilman defeated for re-election was Dr. Mark Millikin, well known single taxer and liberal, who had been one of the original charter councilmen elected in 1927 and had served continuously ever since, though he had not always received the charter group's blessing. He was not on any ticket this fall.

There were 17 candidates in all.

All of the councilmen-elect reached the quota of 1,525 votes, except Mr. Toerner, who was credited with 1,464 in the final count and would undoubtedly have gone over with votes to spare if the 1,098 ballots of the runner-up had been distributed to their next choices. Eighty-seven per cent of those who cast valid ballots (10,614 out of 12,197) helped elect councilmen for whom they voted, 65 per cent of them (7,884) electing their first choices.

The invalid votes were only 395, or 3.1 per cent of those marked, while only 52 were blank. The Hamilton *Journal and Daily News* of November 6 remarked in a headline that "Hamilton Electors Are Learning Their P. R.'s."

The P. R. count was competently conducted again under the direction of Harold Moser, local accountant, starting the morning after election and ending in the early hours of the next day. The *Journal* reported that "there were no complaints about the 'accuracy' of the count. It can be said without fear of contradiction that no professional politician had any finger in any of the counting that was done."

Boulder's Thirteenth P. R. Election

The city in this country which has used P. R. the longest is Boulder, the seat of the University of Colorado. This little city has had a P. R. election every second year from 1917 on. Each time it elects three of the nine councilmen for a six-year term, an arrangement which reduces unnecessarily the scope of representation but has not prevented generally satisfactory and popular results.

Frequently there have been no noticeable issues in Boulder's municipal elections other than the competence and popularity of the individual candidates, but in 1941 three of the seven candidates were known to be interested in securing municipal ownership of the city's electric system. These three polled among them enough of the first choice votes to have secured one of the three places for the municipal ownership group (as has occasionally happened in the past) if their supporters had supported all three as a ticket. The transfers showed, however, that much of their vote was a personal vote rather than a vote for municipal ownership, and that quite a few of those who had given first choices to the two lowest municipal ownership candidates preferred one of the other candidates to the only municipal ownership candidate who had a chance of election. The result was the election of three more conservative candidates, the third of them with the aid of surplus votes from the first.

Two of the three successful candidates, a coal company office manager (Mayor Frank W. Thurman, who led the poll) and a real estate and insur-

ance man, were members of the council seeking re-election. The third is a dairy operator. The runner-up and one of the other defeated candidates were university professors, but the university community did not vote at all as a unit, as the transfers showed.

Seventy-two per cent of those who cast valid ballots (1,060 out of 1,463) helped elect someone for whom they had voted, and 61 per cent (899 out of 1,463) saw their very first choices elected. In five of the six precincts a good majority of the voters saw their first choices elected, and in the sixth, where the municipal ownership candidates ran strongly, 47 per cent did so.

The invalid ballots (probably including blanks) numbered 61 out of 1,524, or about 4 per cent.

According to the *Boulder Daily Camera* of November 5, the count proceeded smoothly and was completed in three hours on the evening of election day by a canvassing board of fifteen, including the holdover members of the council, under the general direction of the city building inspector, the city attorney, and the city clerk.

Accounts of the P. R. elections on November 4 in New York City, Cambridge, Yonkers, Cincinnati, and Toledo appeared in this department in December and January.

Annual Meeting of the P. R. League

The twenty-first annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League, held at St. Louis on November 18, was one of the best attended and most enthusiastic the organization has ever had. Over three hundred League members and friends filled the large room on the roof of the Chase Hotel in which the gathering was held.

As is the P. R. League's usual custom, the meeting was held in conjunction with the annual National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League.

Dr. A. R. Hatton, president of the P. R. League and professor-emeritus of political science at Northwestern University, presided.

At a short business session the League's present trustees were unanimously re-elected. They are: Richard S. Childs, New York City, chairman of the council of the National Municipal League; Paul H. Douglas, professor of economics at the University of Chicago and alderman in the Chicago City Council; C. A. Dykstra, Madison, Wisconsin, president of the University of Wisconsin and past president of the National Municipal League; President A. R. Hatton; C. G. Hoag, of Haverford, Pennsylvania, honorary secretary of the P. R. League; J. Henry Scattergood, of Villa Nova, Pennsylvania, former assistant federal commissioner of Indian Affairs; and Thomas Raeburn White, chairman of the Philadelphia City Charter Committee.

Addresses were given by representatives of five of the seven cities holding P. R. elections during the year. Charles P. Taft, assistant director of the United States Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services and city councilman of Cincinnati, spoke on "P.R. in Cincinnati"; Paul J. Kern, president of the New York City Civil Service Commission, "New York's Third P. R. Election"; Robert Goodwillie, former city councilman of Yonkers, "The Second P. R. Election in Yonkers"; Dr. Mark Milliken, former city councilman of Hamilton, Ohio, "Hamilton's Use of P. R."; and O. Garfield Jones, University of Toledo, "Toledo's Experience with P. R." Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., also gave a short talk on the subject "St. Louis Needs P. R."

In his resumé of the year's activities in the field of proportional representation George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary

of the League, who had spent a week in Cambridge during the P. R. count in November, reported on that city's first P. R. elections for council and school committee—the latter being the first school board election in this country under P. R. He also discussed the decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Court holding P. R. constitutional in that state.

E. S. P.

WANTED: MORE EQUITY IN TAX DIVISION

(Continued from Page 78)

services rendered.

As tax burdens have increased the importance of a nationally-integrated tax system has also increased. The exigencies of the defense era complicate the fiscal problems of governments. The independent status of state and local governments in our political hierarchy, the lack of coördination in their fiscal systems, and the comparative absence of coöperation between the tax administrators of the various governments make difficult the task of developing harmonious tax, loan, and expenditure policies relative to defense, or anything else.

The development of an integrated tax system is a job which cannot be hurriedly undertaken; it will doubtless require years of hard work, particularly because few steps have been taken even to formulate the principles on which action or planning can be based.

Not all the answers to the questions of intergovernmental finance are to be found in Washington. In spite of the fact that many of them are there, municipalities would do well to concentrate at this time on the necessity for state action. Perhaps the states can be induced, or forced, to give localities increased fiscal authority with respect to tax levies and rates, plus greater freedom of choice in the revenue measures to be used. The principle of revenue-sharing should be extended and unconditional grants might well be tried on an experimental basis.

Of course, none of these steps should be taken except under appropriate budgetary, accounting, and auditing procedures. Resistance on the part of many local governments to the adoption of such rudimentary aids to honest and efficient service should stop. Nor can municipalities expect financial aid from states without certain forms of central supervision. On the one hand the supervision should be sympathetic and intelligent; on the other, the financial assistance should be prompt as well as adequate. A strong nation needs strong cities. The cities become strong as their finances are secure.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Address delivered before the Forty-seventh National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, St. Louis, November 19, 1941.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

Federal Finances in the Coming Decade. By Carl Shoup. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1941. xii, 121 pp. $1.

Because of the defense effort the United States faces a financial problem the size of which few persons appreciate. The solution to this problem cannot be found until figures of some sort are set down by means of which a full realization can be obtained of the size and complexity of the problem and the relative importance of its various parts.

Professor Shoup has attempted this, and no more. By means of his "estimated minimums" he has plotted in rough outline the financial future of the country for ten years ahead. He has, of course, based his study upon some definite ideas of what the future holds for the world, setting forth twelve basic assumptions.

This book is a small one, but it treats of the largest figures this or any other government has ever been called upon to consider.

Case Reports in Public Administration. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1941. 10 cents each, obtainable on standing order; Nos. 1-60, with two loose-leaf binders, $5.60.

Each of these "case reports" deals with a particular problem and the manner in which it has been solved in a particular instance.

Publication of these case histories represents a much needed effort to make available to administrators, researchers, and teachers, solutions to administrative problems which have been worked out by others in the field. Included are discussions of problems and decisions from the U. S. Department of Agriculture, the U. S. Housing Authority, Federal Reserve Board, Social Security Board, the states of Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Missouri, Cincinnati, Wayne County, Michigan, and others, covering such subjects as maintenance of morale and production in routine clerical work, selection of employees for promotion, relations between a state department and local agencies, recording purchase requisitions for budgetary control purposes, control of the use of city-owned motor equipment, methods of obtaining efficient action where two bureaus work together in the production of reports, etc.

The reports have been collected and edited by the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council and will be added to as new material becomes available.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Accidents

Financial Responsibility in Motor Accidents. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1941. 39 pp. mimeo.

Accounting

Governmental Cost Accounting in the Los Angeles Area. By Irving Tenner. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1941. 16 pp. 20 cents.

Advertising

Advertising by the States (revised edition). Chicago, Council of State Governments, 1941. 36 pp. $1.

Budgeting

Budgeting in Texas Counties, 1931-1940. By H. C. Bradshaw. College Sta-

tion, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, 1941. 33 pp.

Constitutions

Problems of Constitutional Revision in Illinois. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1941. 35 pp. mimeo.

Defense and War

School and College Civilian Morale Service—How to Participate. Washington, D. C., U. S. Office of Education, 1941. 28 pp.

391 Local Boards Defer Projects as War Aid. St. Paul, Minnesota Taxpayers Association, 1942. 16 pp. mimeo.

Democracy

Constitutional Government and Democracy. By Carl J. Friedrich. Boston, Little, Brown & Company, 1941. xix, 695 pp. $4.

Nazi Poison. New York City, Council for Democracy, 1941. 55 pp. 10 cents.

Education

The Law and Public Education. By Robert R. Hamilton and Paul R. Mort. Chicago, The Foundation Press, Inc., 1941. xxv, 579 pp. $4.75.

Opinion Conflict and School Support. By Frederick T. Rope. New York City, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941. viii, 164 pp. $2.

Unit Costs of School Buildings. By Henry H. Bormann. New York City, Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941. 87 pp. $1.60.

Highways

An Analysis of the Douglas County Highway Department During the Years 1930 Through 1940. By Max P. Heavenrich, Jr. Superior, Wisconsin, The City and County Economy Association, 1941. vi, 40 pp. mimeo.

Housing and Urban Development

Communities for Living. By F. Stuart Chapin, Jr., in collaboration with Sam Schiller, for the Advisory Panel on Regional Materials of Instruction for the Tennessse Valley (in connection with the panel program of making regional research and report materials available for school use). Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1941. ix, 56 pp. illus. 40 cents.

A Handbook on Urban Redevelopment for Cities in the United States. Suggesting certain powers and procedures and an integrated long-term program for dealing with slums and blighted urban areas. By Federal Housing Administration. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1941. ix, 105 pp. 15 cents.

Housing for Health. Papers presented under the auspices of the Committee on the Hygiene of Housing of the American Public Health Association. Lancaster, Pennsylvania, The Science Press Printing Company, 1941. 221 pp. $1. (Copies may be obtained from the Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, 310 Cedar Street, New Haven, Connecticut.)

The St. Marks Neighborhood. A study of housing and general property conditions in a congested urban area. By the staffs of the Department of Real Estate, School of Commerce, Accounts and Finance, New York University, and the Committee on Housing of the Community Service Society of New York. New York City, Community Service Society, 1941. 52 pp. mimeo., maps. 50 cents.

Milk Regulation

State Regulation of the Sale of Milk. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1941. 31 pp. mimeo.

Municipalities

The Effect of an Emergency upon the Police Powers of a City. By Louis H. Burke and Robert H. Patton. Berkeley, League of California Cities, 1941. 45 pp. mimeo. $1.

Intermunicipal Coöperation in the Americas. A report to the chairman of the American Committee for the International Union of Local Authorities from the retiring liaison officer with the Inter-American Congress of Municipalities. By John J. Kennedy. Chicago, American Committee for the International Union of Local Authorities, 1941. 45 pp. mimeo.

Municipal Affairs. By Ernest W. Steel. Scranton, Pennsylvania, International Textbook Company, 1941. 389 pp. $3.50.

Municipal Index and Atlas. New York City, American City Magazine Corporation, 1941. 649 pp. tables, maps. $2.50.

Personnel

As I See It—Observations of a Civil Servant. By Warner W. Stockberger. Washington, D. C., The Graduate School, United States Department of Agriculture, 1941. 51 pp. 35 cents.

Merit System Installation. Problems and procedures in establishing a public personnel agency. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1941. vi, 58 pp. $1.50.

Planning

National Planning in Selected Countries. By Lewis L. Lorwin, for National Resources Planning Board. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1941. iv, 173 pp. 40 cents.

Political Parties

Party Government. By E. E. Schattschneider. New York City, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1942. xv, 219 pp. College edition, $1.25.

Public Administration

Administrative Procedure Legislation. Addresses by Francis Biddle and Roscoe Pound etc., before American Bar Association. Chicago, American Bar Association, 1941. 22 pp.

A Letter from a Dean of Public Administration to His Graduates about the "Tools of Administration." By Lent D. Upson. Detroit, 1941. 12 pp.

Work Measurements in the City of Los Angeles Building and Safety Department. By Irving Tenner. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1941. 16 pp. 20 cents.

Recreation

Proceedings of the 26th National Recreation Congress and the Defense Recreation Conference. New York City, National Recreation Association, 1941. 240 pp. $1.

Taxation and Finance

Diversity in State Tax Systems. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Tobacco Taxes. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, 1941. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Youth

In Defense of Youth. 1940-41 Annual Report. New York City, Young Men's Vocational Foundation, Inc., 1941. 33 pp.